

SEQUEL
TO THE
P R O S P E C T U S,
OR,
A REVIEW OF LATE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATURE OF UPPER CANADA,
AFFECTING THE CAUSE OF
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY...
WITH
AN ESTIMATE OF THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS
OF THESE COLONIES,
IN REFERENCE TO
THIS FIRST AND MOST ESSENTIAL OF ALL HUMAN RIGHTS;
AND
A SUGGESTION OF SUCH MEASURES AS THE PRESENT
CONJUNCTURE SEEMS TO REQUIRE.

BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE
**MONTREAL SOCIETY FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF RELIGIOUS
LIBERTY AND EQUALITY IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.**

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A REVIEW OF LATE PROCEEDINGS

GOVERNMENT AND PROSECUTION OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS AND PROSECUTION
OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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A SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS AND PROSECUTION
OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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THE Committee of the Society for the establishment of equal Religious Liberty in British North America, while they feel, with unfeigned satisfaction, that there is much cause for congratulation to the inhabitants of these Colonies, on the rapid advancement which has been made, within these few months, towards the consummation, to which their aims and exertions are directed, deem it important, at this crisis, to lay before the public an estimate of what yet remains to be accomplished, and to suggest such measures as appear to them expedient in order to perfect the good work.

The late decision of the Committee of the House of Assembly in Upper Canada, manifestly in accordance with the sentiments of the majority of the members, that all the leading sects in that Province, Roman Catholics not excepted, should be admitted to an equal participation with the Established Churches of Britain in the reserved lands, sets at rest, we presume forever, all further doubt as to the general opinion and feeling of the country on the question of equality of religious rights, and seems in fact to have stopped, in a great measure, the mouths of those who preposterously denounced the advocates of this doctrine, as violators of vested rights, as sacrilegious invaders of Church property and what not!

It will not be denied that the present House of Assembly is composed of men, the great majority of whom are not only divested of prejudice or hostility to the Church of England, but actuated by a decided partiality in her favor and a bias no less decided towards the sentiments of the High Church and Tory School. It was a subject of boasting at the close of the last elections in that Province, that the greater part of the successful candidates were of the communion of that Church, and we are well persuaded that nothing short of the conviction, that the country would not bear it, would have been sufficient to induce a great portion of the members to abandon the exclusive system as untenable. This decision goes not only to add new authority to the doctrines of the Prospectus, but proves incontrovertibly and in the most triumphant manner, that public opinion is on our side, and that, to such a degree, that many have been constrained to sacrifice their high church predilections in order to retain the confidence of their constituents.

With what reluctance they have done so, and with what violence to their personal and party feelings, to their deep rooted, and with many, we fear, whatever they may have professed, or however they may have voted, their still secretly cherished attachment to the exclusive system, will be evident to those, who bear in mind the tenor of the resolutions brought forward, in the first instance by Mr. Draper, in which it was most preposterously and insidiously proposed to adopt as the basis of the division of the reserved lands, the ratio of the several denominations or sects, not in the Colony, as common sense and common honesty would have dictated, but (*risum teneatis!*) in the Parent country! Really it were no easy matter to decide whether to admire most the grossness of the stupidity, or of the effrontery displayed by these High Church gentry. They verily reckon largely upon the gullibility of their constituents. The effect of this proposition, had it been carried, would have been to give a vast preponderance to the Church of England over all her rivals, and Mr. Draper & Co. would have treated their constituents, *if they could*, like those juggling fiends in Macbeth "who kept the word of promise to the ear and broke it to the sense." Subsequent movements of that party shew how capable they are of contemning those generous scruples which influence highminded men—those who are incapable of sacrificing the jewel honor, to mercenary or party purposes. No doubt it was discovered during the Christmas Recess, that this Machiavelian manœuvre would not pass with their constituents, as a satisfactory absolvment of the pledges which had been proffered or exacted so recently upon the hustings, and the "*non mi recordo*" savours too much of the land of Machiavel to be here accepted as a valid apology. After the inauspicious rejection (such we assuredly deem it) of the motion so ably advocated by Mr. Cameron and others, that the reserved lands should be converted into a peace offering and appropriated to the service of general education, an appropriation in which the whole Province would have cordially concurred (with the exception of those only who were selfishly interested in favour of the contrary course,) and of which all denominations would have equally shared the benefit, whatever was liberal in the last measure, carried in the committee, it is impossible to doubt, was extorted, from some at least of the members, who felt that they dared not fly in the face of their constituents; and those who have forfeited their pledges, may spare themselves the trouble of presenting themselves to their outraged constituents after such a public exposé of their Punic Faith. In what light this decision of the committee was viewed by the ultra party, how cordial was their antipathy to it, is abundantly manifest in the burst of foul and fierce invective, into which Mr. Hagerman, the Thersites of the faction, was hurried in an evil hour for himself—if both the government and the country be not blind and insatuated. We trust that "there is no mistake, and that there shall be no mistake" hereafter, as to the real character and views of Hagerman and his party, and of the unmitigated and immitigable opposition, with which, openly and clandestinely, di-

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rectly and indirectly, they are prepared to encounter all liberal measures.

The unmanly and dishonorable attempt which was made, after they saw the ranks of the liberal party thinned at the close of the session, to carry their point by a stratagem, affords lucid proof of the animus of the party, and of the unscrupulous character of the zeal which inspires them. Their defeat after all was abundantly humiliating, when we reflect that Toronto is the centre of their strength, and that their opponents must have not only been reduced in number but taken in a great measure by surprise.

To those who are not thoroughly indoctrinated as yet, in the "*nil admirari*," it might seem somewhat surprising, even after a pretty enlarged and familiar experience of the consummation of folly, impudence, and recklessness, which selfish men and especially selfish political partisans are used to show off in the face of the world, and of the sun, that Mr. Hagerman should not have thrown a slight veil over the nakedness of his selfish and insane political dogmas—it were a prostitution of the word to call them *principles*. Mr. Hagerman, as fortunately for the interests of the country as unfortunately for the designs of his cabal, is one of those men whose dishonesty and lack of principle is not covered by one rag of discretion, with whom in very verity, "the want of decency is want of sense." He is the orator more bold than discreet, of a party whose extreme, and we might add, *judicial* blindness ("quos deus perdere vult prius dementat") have brought them, and we grieve to add, these Colonies whose government has been too long directed by their blind councils, to the verge of a gulph from which one glimmering of vision would have made them recoil. He is the worthy Captain of a band of forlorn incurables, whom experience cannot teach, who learn nothing, forget nothing, stick at nothing, whom only fate and necessity are able to arrest in their blind and insensate career, who never recognize truth, justice or moral principle, until they think that they can be used as convenient tools to serve their ends and interests. The friends of religious liberty never had greater cause to arouse themselves and to put forth all their energies. Let them read with attention the tirade of Mr. Hagerman, valuable for nothing but the unreserved freedom (a freedom how like that of a drunk man) with which he throws open his whole soul, and exposes to the public eye, the unbounded selfishness, the coarse and vulgar insolence of a monopolizing faction, which is chargeable with the whole original sin of the past mismanagement and present unhappy distractions of the Colony, and until the government is purged from their leprous infection, it is vain to look for settled tranquillity or general harmony. If the country sit still in supine and listless indifference, they will soon realize to their cost the fable of the horse and the stag, and will feel ere long, with unavailing regret, how much easier it is to prevent the bridle from being put into the mouth, the saddle from being fastened on the back, and the rider from taking possession of both, than to unseat him after he is once mounted; for your sacerdotal rider is the

true antitype of the memorable man of the sea, in the Arabian Night's Entertainments, whom the ill fated Sinbad knew so sorely to his cost.

We grieve to say that all along and more especially of late, we observe a connivance at these designs, if not a collusion with their authors and abettors on the part of, at least, the colonial governments, which augments our alarm, and urgently enforces upon the country the necessity of a prompt, united and determined resistance. It might have been easily seen long ago, on the part of both the home and colonial governments, had they been willing to see, that there was a deep and general antipathy, throughout these Provinces, to the erecting of a dominant church or of dominant churches, or to the existence of any invidious preferences on the score of religion, and—the slight regard, nay the manifest disregard, had to the loudest and most vehement utterance of this feeling—which has been elicited, whenever the high church party, more zealous than prudent, have allowed their movements and designs to come into the light of public observation—appears to us, we are constrained to avow, both in sorrow and in indignation, to afford no very favorable omen of the popularity, efficiency, and stability of the government, if they do not hasten to repair so fatal an error. Can there be a doubt that a virtual or rather an express pledge had been given on more than one occasion from the Colonial office,* that nothing would be done on the part of the Executive Government to give just alarm to those who suspected a design to favor the gradual introduction of a dominant church into these Colonies, at least, until the opinion of the Colonists themselves should be ascertained through the Colonial Legislatures. And such a pledge having been given, what language of reprehension, nay of abomination and disgust can be too strong to be employed in characterising the act of Sir John Colborne, by which fifty-seven Rectories with one stroke of the pen, were established in Upper Canada, in favor of that church, which in proportion as it is the object of jealousy and alarm to the people, becomes it would seem, the object of the partial and almost exclusive bounty and patronage of the government. Has not the establishment of the Rectories, so far at least, saddled the Colony with a dominant church, with an exclusive religious establishment. Could they have possibly contrived to fly more palpably, more directly in the face of their own assurances, assurances most perfectly satisfactory had they been sincere? This act has shaken to the foundation, our confidence in their liberal professions. And are we now called upon to give our confidence to the government under whose auspices this measure has been adopted, to the government which, in such circumstances could act with such fatuity by surrendering to their absolute discretion the disposal or the distribution of the Reserved Lands? Can it be supposed that this augmentation of the wealth, of the influence, of the dignity and authority of the Anglican Church in the Colony, this inoffense which gives a sanction to her extremest pretensions, which in a manner realizes her own most selfish interpretation of the Constitutional act, by giving her the exclusive

*See note A.

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benefit of it, do we suppose that this procedure of the government will have any tendency to render the way more open or easy to a satisfactory adjustment of the question? Are we to accept this as an earnest of the confidence due to its professions, not to force upon us a dominant church?—In fine, does this look like juggling or fair straight forward dealing?

The signal imprudence of such a measure in the very excited and sensitively jealous state of public feeling in both Provinces, is not a little enhanced by the seemingly unmanly, and pusillanimous manner of doing it. The late governor who had been popular up to that date, and for ought we know justly popular, and had contrived to inspire the clergy of the Church of Scotland at least, with the opinion that he was opposed to the erecting of a dominant Church, set his seal, just as he was going out of office, to a measure which he must have foreseen would excite a storm of public indignation, a measure which shows as little of honest and magnanimous dealing, in the manner in which it was brought out, as it savours of sound and liberal policy in its first concoction. When we consider in what time and place, in what circumstances of the government and in what mood of the popular mind this consummation of political blundering, to call it by no harsher name, was enacted, one feels all the emphasis of the exclamation of the Swedish statesman Oxenstiern, "O my son, thou knowest not with how little wisdom the world is governed!"

We hesitate not to proclaim our conviction that a few more acts, such as these, would inevitably, and we will add, most justly tear up by the roots all confidence in our rulers both at home and in the Colony; and, we speak it solemnly—indignantly, we shall require very unequivocal evidence of a very different spirit in those, by whose counsels, and under whose auspices, such foolhardy and evil omened measures have been passed, ere we feel it safe to give them our confidence, or to relax the most jealous vigilance in regard to their political views and proceedings. If they were wise to discern the signs of the times, to understand the nature of the ground on which they tread, and the stuff which the people of these Colonies are made of, they would hasten to obliterate the dangerous impressions, which such exceedingly ill-timed and unwarrantable acts have necessarily created, and it would not at this moment be left in doubt, what are the views and intentions of our rulers, in regard to the most important and certainly the most exciting of all subjects connected with our Colonial Politics.

We would earnestly adjure the country to mark and ponder well the actual position in which we stand at this moment, and the artful and insidious means which are employed to steal around our necks the hateful, the ignominious fetters of ecclesiastical domination, a thing so utterly incompatible with the circumstances of these Colonies, and so extremely repugnant to the spirit and sentiments of the vast majority of the population, nay, may we not add, to the majority even of that portion who are members of the Church of England, that one is lost in astonishment at the more than folly—at the infatuation which pos-

sees our statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic, in not proclaiming at once their conviction of the utter inaptitude of such a system to our state, and in consequence of such conviction, their frank and final renunciation of all views of this nature.

Let us compare the undisguised pretensions of the Clergy of the Anglican Church, and of the abettors of her exclusive claims—with the language of the ordinance establishing the Rectories in the sister Province—with the tenor of the Constitutional act of 1791—let us compare these with the actual power and influence now vested in her Bishop and Clergy—with the rapid strides which they are making, in defiance of all opposition, through the undisguised partiality of government, whose patronage, exclusively exercised in their favour gives them, in point of fact nearly all the substantial advantages of an established Church—compare all these with the vast ascendancy of their party at head-quarters, where their influence is all in all—a party not the less zealous, active and indefatigable that their own hopes of ambition or interest, individually and collectively, are bound up with the success of the project for creating a dominant Church—and if to all this you add the growing influence which, with all this patronage, with all this powerful and zealous support, with all these acquisitions and advantages, to extend, confirm and perpetuate which, we need not doubt the utmost exertions of all the allied powers and parties in question, will be put forth and strained, we shall perceive at once the magnitude of the evils, the imminency of the perils with which we are environed.

Put in apposition with all this, the following facts, that the Bishop and Clergy of the Anglican Church have had hitherto an almost exclusive and unlimited control over the public funds, and institutions for education; that, in consequence of this paramount influence, it was preposterously attempted to erect Provincial universities upon the exclusive principle, vesting the whole government and instruction in the hands of a body, who form only a fraction of the protestant population; that the voice of the country having been strongly and generally declared against this most preposterous and insane attempt to introduce the curse of Ireland into the Canadas, the system is still continued in practice—though the principle has been most reluctantly abandoned, only in despair of being able to hold it fast—by the establishment of the minor College at Toronto, under the auspices of Sir John Colborne, who—in perfect consistency, we own, with the last act of his administration, which converts, we deem, suspicion into certainty as to the motive—placed this Provincial Seminary *exclusively* (is it not so still?) under the administration of Church of England Clergymen—no very prudent or politic arrangement—even could we absolve him from all suspicion of an insidious design to pave the way for the last memorable act of his government—in a Province which had been so much excited and agitated by previous manifestations of similar designs on the part of some of his predecessors.

The charter of the University of Upper Canada, it may be true, is now nominally purged of all its illiberal and exclusive clauses, but how

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little will that avail, when we find it placed under the direction of Dr. Strachan, with a body of governors, baptised into the same high church spirit, and having a lively sympathy with the principles and aims of one of the most active and least scrupulous of all the abettors of the pretensions of the would-be dominant Church? The President and governors of the College will in the first instance at least, be composed, with few exceptions, of that faction which, as all the world knows, are animated by the very same sentiments to which, in a moment of frenzy, one of their number has given a frank and unreserved expression.

McGill College in Lower Canada, in consequence of a most anomalous statute, concocted, it has been said, by the late Bishop Mountain, erecting a Royal Corporation for the advancement of learning, invested with an absolute and universal controul, over all public funds, and seminaries of education in the Province, is virtually under the exclusive controul of the Bishop of Quebec, and his clergy or partizans.—We are not chargeable with the slightest disrespect to the Anglican Clergy, when we say that, like all communities, they will, if allowed to possess this paramount authority and influence, exercise it more or less for their own aggrandizement.

Is it not a fact, at this moment, that Government patronage and bounty have been in a manner exclusively lavished upon them; and we really wish that some friend to the liberal cause, would take the trouble to draw up and publish a simple statement of all the offices, honors, emoluments, and grants, of various kinds and from various sources, made in their favor, to stop the mouths of those modest gentlemen who rise up gravely to tell us that we have no religious grievances, no preferences or partialities to complain of! What will not some men deny?

It is a fact not very honorable—we grieve that we are compelled to adopt such language—to either the Home or the Colonial Government, that, with all this lavish expenditure and liberal patronage to the Church of England Clergy, numerous petitions from their Scottish brethren in Lower Canada, though representing a population not less numerous, important, or deserving, have been most unwisely and shamefully neglected—pledges, express and solemn pledges on the part of the Government, to comply with their just and moderate claims have been forgotten and disregarded—not one fraction of the thousands voted by the British Parliament has been extended to them; and—only a pittance of one hundred pounds sterling, out of the Provincial Treasury, has been given to two of their number, the senior ministers of Quebec and Montreal.

Weigh all this, and who shall deny that there is much room for apprehension and distrust, until we obtain something more satisfactory than mere professions—thus notoriously and scandalously belied by facts—that the Government have relinquished all views towards the erection of a dominant church, and are, not only in profession but in practice, prepared henceforth to know no distinctions between one denomination of their subjects and another.

Let us infer from this alarming view of the situation of our affairs, how much it is the duty of all the friends of either our civil or our religious rights and liberties, to be on the alert. This is no time to sleep upon their post. Let one unanimous voice be lifted up, one simultaneous effort made, and we shall heave off this incubus from our country, and open a way for the free growth, the full expansion, of these Colonies—we shall sweep away all that now represses the putting forth of the energies of our population, the first, the only original spring of national life, liberty, prosperity; and thereby we shall most effectually provide for the permanence of our connection with the Parent State, a connection which, if it be suddenly and violently burst asunder, we are persuaded it will be, not through the direct and immediate agency of the Radicals or Republicans in Upper Canada, or of the Clique faction in this Province, but through the mischievous influence and outrageous acts of your Hagermans and Strachans—of those fools who “will rush in where angels fear to tread,” and whose shallowness of understanding, accompanied with a reckless selfishness, a low and sordid ambition, render them blind and insensate to the volcanic elements, which a little spark may kindle into combustion—which may communicate with a train whose explosion would precipitate the country into revolution, and the Government into ruin. Of such a character and mould, both in heart and head, were the men who first goaded into most unwilling disaffection, and by their blind and incorrigible folly drove at length into open revolt the Colonies to the south of us, how a mighty and independent nation; and there are spirits amongst us, who are hastening to put the finishing hand to the dismemberment of the British Transatlantic empire. The revolution will end where it began, in the evil councils and evil influence of men who, in spirit, principles, and character, bear one express image and likeness, reflect in every part and feature a common nature, as far as mere change of costume may not vary or disguise the points of similitude.

Will it be denied that the exclusive claims of the Church of England stand opposed to the wishes and interests of the great body of the Colonists? Will it bear a question after the exposure which has been made more than once of her exorbitant pretensions, in the face of the country and of the world, that it is the duty of every well-wisher of the Colony and of the Parent Country, to stand forth at once in open avowed determined resistance to such preposterous and overstrained pretensions? Shall we allow ourselves to be insulted, bullied and browbeaten by the hirelings of office, by the creatures of a court, by the selfish needy time-serving vermin of dependants who swarm at headquarters, who, like carrion crows, are gathered together wherever the carcase is, who, oftentimes without one particle of private or public virtue, without one manly trait of character to command respect or confidence, contrive to turn to their advantage the weakness or the facility of their betters, and to cover over the virus of their Orangism (that is its proper name) by an affected and exaggerated zeal, in opposition to the Radical or Revolutionary party, who, but for them, would

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either have had no being at all, or would have been utterly insignificant—who have grown out of the corruption and misgovernment which their counsels have generated—to whom they are the breath of life, who will grow with their growth and strengthen with their strength, or rather, if we may hope better things, are destined speedily to share their decline and downfall.

Such are the men, of whom Mr. Hagerman serves as a goodly specimen. "*Ex uno disce omnes.*" In a moment of outrageous passion, he has unveiled the naked deformity of that party selfishness, of that withering spirit of religious intolerance and exclusiveness, which must long ere now, in British North America, have "descended to the grave of all the Capulets," had it not found a fit resting place, like the exorcised demon in the Gospel, in such bosoms as those of the learned Solicitor and his fraternity—had it not been for the elective affinity or attraction, to adopt a chemical figure, which such antiquated anilities have for minds, constituted like Hagerman's. Such men have no other use in nature, unless it be to serve as land-marks to enable us to determine the rate of that progressive moment by which all the rest of the world is carried onward, in the course of Divine Providence, towards the goal of perfection.

We will not dissemble our conviction, however perilous it may be to proclaim it, that this spirit, that these principles are common to Hagerman, with the great majority of official and influential men connected with the Executive in both Provinces. Others may act with more reserve and self-command, may succeed better in veiling their real sentiments and designs, but they have all a common cause, a common interest, a common ambition; and no one who is a discerner of the spirits of men, or who has paid any attention to their sayings and doings in time past, and even at a very recent date, can entertain a shadow of doubt that they are all baptized into one faith, into one feeling; and when time and circumstances serve, will be found apt and eager—will be found every man of them—nothing loth to go all lengths with Mr. Hagerman, allowing him, at the peril of his proper neck, to save their putting their own in jeopardy, amidst the rocks and precipices of their Alpine ascent. Cursed with moral paralysis, a dead palsy of selfishness, such men will not—cannot have sympathy with any liberal, enlightened or generous policy—they have no compunctious visitings, no remorseful shrinkings; but will unhesitatingly sacrifice the greatest and most precious interests of their country and of mankind, for the least personal or party advantage. Their only balance for weighing all measures, is that of party and self interest. Such men are the rottenness in the bones, the worm in the bud, the corruption in the very heart's core, of the Colonial Governments. And if such men shall continue to be the chosen ministers and confidants in whom our rulers take delight—if they are suffered much longer to hold their places, and to retain their undue influence and ascendancy at head-quarters—if they are suffered much longer, either through the tameness of the people or the connivance of

*See Note C.

the Government, to weigh down its credit and respectability by the theatres of their personal and party selfishness—and if the Government do not or will not see the odium, the danger which they incur, and apply a prompt and effectual remedy, they will go down without sympathy or regret, without the least hope or chance of redemption. If such scenes, if such doings, as those by which His Majesty's Solicitor-General disgraced *himself*, at least the *honorable office* which he holds, *most unworthily*, we deem; the *Government* whose servant he is, and the *House of Assembly*, which he and his allies converted, on more than one occasion during the late session, into a bear-garden, whose debates, through his defiance of all sense, decency and manners, seemed to partake all the wild licence and disorder, without the spirit of our ancient Feudal Parliaments, whose mail-clad barons did not long urge the tame war of fierce words, but passing from hot arguments to cold iron, proved that, if they lacked the cool wisdom of legislators, they were not deficient in the courage of warriors—it is easy to see that—if such doings are connived at, if such men are patronised and trusted by Government—it will inevitably become identified in the public opinion with its ministers and confidants; and with good reason it will be inferred that our rulers sympathise with *their* spirit, sentiments and bearing.

Now is not a time to tamper with the feelings of the people of Canada, much less to insult, lacerate and outrage these feelings on points in respect to which they are sensitively alive. The question of Church domination is one with respect to which no candid intelligent man can doubt, what is the sense of the vast majority of the Colonists: it has been frequently, urgently expressed—strong symptoms have been most unequivocally manifested, of irritation, impatience, disgust; and yet the Government continue as in a deep sleep—they cannot see, they will not hear. The very fact that the question remains unsettled, operates to the disadvantage of the Government; and the longer the worse—it cools and weakens its friends, emboldens and strengthens its enemies, and would do so, were there no manifestation whatever on its part of a disposition, of a leaning in favor of the unpopular side. It is the interest and must be the wish of the enemies of British connexion that the government should persist in this course, that it should continue to favor the designs of the would-be dominant Church, as the surest means of rendering itself odious, and paving the way for its own subversion—that it should give all its confidence and all its patronage to those who are the advisers and abettors of the system of governing the Colonies by influence and who for this purpose are preposterously labouring to create a State Church, no doubt, as a fulcrum for a puppet aristocracy, composed, forsooth, of such materials, men moulded of such clay as Solicitor Hagerman;—a godly project, whose consummation may be expected at the Greek Kalends! It would be a needless waste of time and of breath to reason with the political owls and bats who hold and avow such Quixotic doctrines, in wilful ignorance of the popular disgust and antipathy with which such pretensions

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are regarded, in blind and fool-hardy defiance of the spirit of the age, and we add, with emphasis, of the spirit of the Colonists of British North America.

At the hazard, peradventure, of being denounced as Democrats and republicans, the usual salutation with which "*hoc genus omne*" greet all who oppose their bigotry and exclusiveness, we openly and unhesitatingly proclaim our conviction of the utter fallacy of their maxims of government, and of the extreme hazard of giving in to them in any degree. It appears to us, that if there be a rock on which more than any other, the vessel of the Colonial State is likely to suffer shipwreck, if there be a plausible form of false policy into which the British Government may be liable to be beguiled through guileful misrepresentations, it is none other than that of opposing to the Democratic tendency of the Colonies the feeble, futile system of a government supported by the influence of a dominant Church and a bastard aristocracy. We shall be happy to be mistaken in our suspicions and alarms, but we really do not know on what other principle we may account for the fatuity with which the Government have persisted, and do still, amidst loud, general, vehement reclamation, persist to favor the high Church party: If they entertain no such views, then their conduct is still more unwise and unaccountable, in not harkening to remove all appearances and thereby silence every murmur and extinguish every suspicion. "*Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atreida.*" Those who are desirous to be severed from the British connexion, who seek the subversion of the only remaining monarchical government in this Continent, those who long to see the star striped banner floating on the winds of Canada, could not desire, could scarcely imagine a posture of affairs more propitious to their wishes and hopes, than a government in the false and unnatural position of struggling against the spirit of the country and of the age, and patronizing and fostering, or which is the same for their purpose, seeming to do so, a system of religious and political inequality and exclusion amongst a population whose attachment to Britain can only be secured by the most liberal and equal treatment; by such a treatment, we repeat, as will leave no room, no, not even a pretext for drawing comparisons between themselves and their neighbours of the United States, to their own disparagement. We would again and again urge upon the government that the reverse of these views and measures, is the only true and saving policy for their American Colonies. We appeal to all honest and enlightened friends of the Parent Country and the Colonies, who have had an opportunity of becoming sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances of the latter, who are not inoculated with the *virus* of High Church prejudice, whether there be any other possible way of promoting the mutual interest of the Colonies and the Parent State, of cementing their attachment and perpetuating their union, than that of accommodating the Government, so far as circumstances will allow, or sound policy warrant, to the wishes of the population, that of giving free and full scope to the developement of our resources in such a way as nature indicates without impeding her course,

or obstructing our free growth and progression by needless restrictions, and exclusions, by invidious distinctions, odious preferences, political or religious. If the government desire to put down a feeling in favor of republican institutions, let them pursue frankly and decidedly, such a course as will leave us nothing to envy in the land of Democracy. To attempt to introduce into these Colonies even a shred, a semblance of the exclusive maxims and institutions of the Feudal governments of Europe, appears to us such a palpable violation of the plainest principles of equity and sound policy, nay of common sense, that we must utterly despair of any government that should adopt this course, and much more should persist in it. The country will not submit to it. The sturdy yeomanry of the Canadas—who soon imbibe a consciousness of their own independence, of their own importance in this Hemisphere, where equality of rights seems a principle, an element of the very air which we breathe, of the very soil which we tread—from Hudson's Bay to Magellan's Straits,—will soon take the alarm and plant themselves in an attitude of stern defiance of any government, of any party that shall manifest such intentions. Need we add that any influence which the government could possibly gain by an odious alliance with a secularized Priesthood of either one sect or of several sects conjointly, or with a venal, needy, dependent aristocracy or bureaucracy composed of supple courtiers and placemen, with the long train of expectants and candidates who desire to be put in office for a morsel of bread, would be dearly purchased at the expense of the confidence, good will and attachment of the great body of the honest, unsophisticated yeomanry.

Need we remind the government that such allies are much more dangerous in all respects and much less serviceable, in any point of view than is generally believed—they are intractable, refractory materials to work with—they are edge tools, to the hand that would play with them—they are as often the masters as the minions, as often the tyrants as the tools of those who have created them—they fly in the face of their patrons and benefactors, when they refuse to go every length to serve their sordid selfishness and insatiable cupidity. They are the elephants of eastern warfare, but not like the elephant—"half reasoning," or half reasonable—they are all made up of self-will and selfishness—they can see nothing but their own particular interests and of these, only what is most near and gross and palpable to sense.

What is it, we would ask, which at this moment chiefly endangers the stability of the government, or the peace and prosperity of the Colony? Is it any real disaffection or any republican bias in any considerable portion of the population? Is the revolutionary, the anti British party really formidable in either Province, in point of number, power, or spirit? Abstracting from the mere swaggering and bluster of a few demagogues and agitators, what is there on this side to alarm the most timid? Is there room for jealousy and distrust in respect to the loyalty or British feeling of any one sect or community of the Colonists? In this and in every other country, there must be designing and turbulent men, who

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seek to fish in troubled waters, who care not at what price they purchase power and advancement to themselves; but we believe in our hearts that, notwithstanding appearances, there are as few malcontents, in the great body of the inhabitants, as in any part whatever of the British empire. What then, we ask can render seriously formidable the few whose vocation is to trouble and divide society? We answer, the existence of a partial and exclusive spirit on the part of the government, prompting such measures as give just ground of offence to large masses of its quiet and well affected subjects, arousing them as it were into angry fermentation by wounding their feelings, violating their rights, making an unfair or unequal dispensation of their patronage and favor, by granting monopolies of honor, office, emolument, to one sect or party to the exclusion or disparagement of others. Above all, is it perilous for a government to touch national prejudices, to tamper with sectarian interests and feelings; for in so doing, they arouse and set in array against themselves the most powerful passions, they come into conflict with a moral force, the amount, the momentum of which cannot be calculated. Let them bear in mind that it is better for them to give offence to all the priesthoods in the Colony, to all their ministers and minions right and left, than to alienate or affront any one sect or body of the honest, peaceable, unsophisticated population, whose good will cannot be bought or sold like that of the others, and who, once offended or disgusted are not quite so easily won back to their former attachment as your cast off courtier or pensioner, whether lay or cleric, whose venal bow and smile can most surely be regained in all their original plenitude and glory by the peace offering of "the cakes and ale," of the "loaves and fishes."

Let the government ask what at this day would have been its credit and standing with the country, and how much more favorable the posture of colonial affairs in British North America, had they not given ear to partial and interested counsellors—had they not identified themselves with men who were notoriously illiberal, and, in many instances, highly obnoxious to the country as violent partisans, both in religion and politics? Had there been no national, sectarian or party prejudices manifested on the part of government, had they set their face in time past, against the cabals and intrigues of interested and prejudiced men in the Legislative and Executive Departments, had an equal, impartial regard been had to the rights, feelings and interests of all classes of the inhabitants—instead of giving to one favored communion the chief sway in all that pertains to the civil or ecclesiastical State—where, we demand, would have been the divisions which now distract us, the vexatious embarrassments which now perplex and confound the wisdom of our rulers, obstruct the prosperity and peace of these Colonies, and threaten the integrity of the Empire?

Let the government this day compute how much of all the odium they have incurred, how much of all that has afforded ground or colour to the discontents and the dissensions, by which we are agitated, how much of all the embarrassment and perplexity in which Canadian

politics are now involved, would have been prevented or counteracted—had they pursued a large and liberal policy—had they consulted less the opinion, the will of unprincipled partizans or courtier priests around them and near them, and looked more to the interests and wishes of the people, who would have been found not unreasonable in their claims and expectations? Had the government shewn a sincere desire to treat all alike, to admit of no odious distinctions among their subjects, they would have at this day been *equally* strong in the general confidence and attachment of all parties and denominations, and would have forfeited only the worthless services of a few hirelings, equally devoid of honesty or gratitude, of enlightened wisdom or true patriotism.

In fine, had the government shewn no greater favor to one sect or party than to another, had they not given in to the Utopian scheme of attempting to build up a state Church and to create in holy alliance with it, a Provincial aristocracy,—to be moulded of, we know not what new, strange, non-descript materials; our Strachans, Hagermans, Drapers, Macaulays, Robinsons, Sherwoods, Sewells, Feltons, &c. &c.—had their efforts, instead of being thus misdirected and wasted, been wisely employed in the task—worthy of an enlightened and paternal government—of strengthening and securing a solid foundation in the good will confidence and affection of all their subjects, without respect of parties or races, how different would be their situation from what it unhappily is at this juncture? We trust that there is still such a residue of attachment surviving in the great mass of the population, as to render it an easy matter to repair past errors, and to retrieve what has been lost through the blundering policy of former administrations. But there is no time to dally or to halt between two opinions. There is no middle course,—no temporising, vacillating policy that can avail to allay the discontents and jealousies which have been created and fomented. Lenitives now will not operate a cure. Half measures will not give satisfaction.

In order to give a complete quietus to the alarm which the last inauspicious act of the late Governor of Upper Canada has aroused, there must be an immediate and unequivocal disavowal of the principle which that act implies, and a full reparation of the wrong which it has inflicted. Nothing less, in our opinion will be sufficient to expiate the wrong done to the Colony, to restore confidence to the government, or to replace things in that state, in which it can with truth be said that we are not subjected to a Dominant Church, save the Revocation of the Ordinance establishing and endowing the Rectories in the sister Province. Suffer this iniquitous, insulting, and we will say it, this outrageous imposition to stand fast, and the precedent of paramount authority and privilege is established in favor of the Anglican Church. The country may depend upon it, that those who have shown themselves capable of this outrage upon the feelings of the people of Upper Canada—who have established these odious rectories in defiance of public opinion, in gross and scandalous violation of public faith, will not be less zealous, or less pertinacious to follow out their design. "*Obsta principis*" is a

*See Note D.

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rule most strictly applicable to this case, and we may rest assured, that if we submit tamely to this infringement, to this usurpation, every advantage will be taken of it, at a future day, and upon this foundation, however narrow it may be, they will contrive—in virtue of the principle of precedent right which it involves in favor of the endowed Church—to carry out their claims to the full extent.

No man in his senses can believe that the matter will stop here. This is only the prelude. Let the present rectories be firmly and finally established, and who shall doubt that the same endowment will be demanded as a right by all the successive clergymen and congregations to exist hereafter in communion with the favored Church.

It is in vain to tell us, that these endowments cannot be revoked, because the faith of government is pledged to the party in whose favor the grant was made. We deny the validity of the act, because the faith of the Metropolitan government was pledged, that nothing should be done towards the erection of a dominant Church or dominant Churches, without the consent and concurrence of the Colonial legislatures. *The minister or the agent* can never have powers or rights of which *the master or principal* has voluntarily divested himself. The home government must feel that this act has compromised their faith and honor, in such a way that nothing short of its absolute revocation can wipe out the stain.

If there be a violation of faith, does not the original sin of that violation rest with the government? Is it not involved in the ordinance establishing the Rectories—and in what other way can the faith and the honor of the government be effectually redeemed, and the wrong of which the Colony indignantly complains, duly expiated and repaired, but by restoring that state of things which that faith was publicly pledged to maintain, until the united voice of the two branches of the Legislature should declare the sense of the country in respect to this long agitated question? Oh! it is a fine thing to *hear the mighty outcry*—that is made by the authors and instigators of this shameful infraction—of *spoliation, forsooth, and breach of faith*, when we demand that the sanction of the Legislature and government shall be refused to the stealthy and clandestine usurpations of an ambitious and encroaching faction! How eagerly, how zealously do the high Church party avail themselves of the solemn sanctions of justice and morality, when they can be forced into their service, while they cannot catch the slightest glimmering of their light, when it shines to expose their palpable invasions of public right and to point the way to restitution or reformation! It were pity, since their ethics go so far as to enlighten their eyes to the iniquity of violating faith—of retracting or annulling a pledge or contract; that these zealous sticklers for political morality should not go to the full extent of a perfectly impartial, irrespective integrity and conscientiousness—of that superlative righteousness whose motto is "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*"

The appropriation, which we denounce, involves the double guilt, first, of a violation of the public and solemn pledge of government; and,

next—of an act of spoliation and robbery; for is it not an iniquitous and faithless invasion of the property of the Colony, and an unwarrantable application of it to purposes most inconsistent with the wishes and the interests of the great majority of the population? It is only justice to the Province, then, it is only vindicating the honor and the credit of government, to revoke a grant, obtained, no doubt, through error or inadvertency on the part of the Colonial office—misguided by that party, whose intrigues and misrepresentations have so often prevailed, hitherto, against the public opinion and the vital interests of the Colony. Unless this act be revoked, the faith of the government has received an indelible stain, and the confidence and attachment of many of its best friends will be shaken to the foundation. And unless, indeed our rulers hold it more a duty to keep faith inviolate *in doing wrong, than in maintaining right*, we do not see how it is possible to absolve themselves from the imperative obligation of rectifying their error, by a revocation—an unreserved, absolute, immediate revocation. The annulment of the grant thus unwarrantably, and are we not authorized to add, perfidiously made, can alone afford sufficient and satisfactory evidence that they sincerely desire to be set right with the public and to re-establish their credit, not a little shaken by this inauspicious measure.

It is the indispensable duty of all the friends of liberal government, in the sister Province, to press upon their rulers their determination not to submit patiently to such indignity, to such an iniquitous imposition as this establishment of rectories. They may be assured that it is only a prelude to further invasions, to more bold and extended usurpations. It is a feeler put forth to ascertain how far these liberties may be carried, to what extent patience, or rather pusillanimity and apathy on the part of the people will bear with these encroachments. What is now only a prelude, will be converted, by and bye, into a precedent, into a principle, to which appeal may be made in order to enforce further impositions. Future advancement will be easy, now that a breach is once made—an entrance once secured. The little finger is in—the whole corporation will soon follow—in the ample rotundity of its entire dimensions. The body and all its members will soon be in—and *challenging for the whole as they now do for the fraction, the sacredness of the public faith, and grasping that possession which is nine points of the law*—they will easily resist any attack which may be founded upon the *miserable tithe point* that will remain to the Colony, in seeking redress. Like the weasel in the fable, however lean and slender and feeble, they will—fed and fattened by this ample provision,—soon attain a growth, a strength to bid proud defiance to every effort to dispossess or reduce them. The sister Province is infatuated—is blind to her most vital interests, if she does not put herself at once into an attitude of stern and determined resistance to this insidious movement of a restless, insatiable, intriguing faction, who manifestly contemplate nothing short of a complete monopoly of ecclesiastical property and power, and who in the most daring and insolent manner, scruple not to outrage the feelings of the country, and to trample on

every principle of self-interest, and most unbecomingly of infidelity, these Colonies of ferment, be deluded, or cease from the leopards that remain the government of British colonies, and the aration of the

Let such shall convince to be thus created rights, to the Imperial done to the people of British colonies, and let the whole of the British system; praying into the original which we need Governors in iniquitous produce themselves room for complete prejudice of

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every principle of justice, faith and honor, in the prosecution of their selfish ends. They have not been discouraged by the strongest and most unequivocal expressions of public indignation. With the blindness of infatuation they persist to urge their measures, at a crisis when these Colonies, through *their evil counsels and influence*, are in a state of ferment and agitation, bordering on revolution. Let not the country be deluded by the vain hope that this party will ever change its spirit or cease from its machinations. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?" Their destruction is the only hope of safety that remains to the Colony. If they continue much longer to sway the government as they have done, all the wisdom and all the address of British statesmen will be impotent to avert the speedy and final separation of British North America from the Empire.

Let such a remonstrance be laid before the House of Commons, as shall convince that body, that the people of Canada are not in a humour to be thus tampered with, in the matter of their dearest and most sacred rights. Let a full and unreserved statement be submitted forthwith to the Imperial Parliament, of all the grievous complicated wrongs done to the feelings and rights—to the civil and sacred interests of the people of British North America, by the long continued, and still pertinaciously urged endeavour to elevate one Church to a Dominancy, and let the whole spirit, tendency and effects of this most impolitic and pernicious system be clearly laid open and exposed to merited reprehension; praying withal that a strict inquiry may be immediately instituted into the originators and abettors of such ill advised measures, as that which we now denounce, and that peremptory injunctions be given to Governors in all time coming to put a final stop to all such partial and iniquitous proceedings, on the part of the executive at least, and to conduct themselves, in their administration, in such a manner as to leave no room for complaint, that religion creates any bias in favor—or to the prejudice of any individual, sect, or party whatever.

The experience of the past has too sorely taught us how little reliance can be placed upon the wisdom, impartiality, or firmness of the Governors, who too often bring with them into the administration of their high office, religious or political prejudices which give them an inevitable leaning in favor of the Ultra or Orange faction. Let no one startle at our use of this term, as if it were inapplicable to the spirit or maxims of the Aristocratic or Tory party in the sister Province. We challenge any intelligent observer whether—looking at the views of the men who compose this party—their sentiments and doctrines, as avowed both in Parliament and through the medium of their many active and unscrupulous organs and engines of the press and—the character and tendency of their actual measures, as manifested, for a length of time, in the conduct of government—in the dispensation of its patronage—and the general exercise of its influence—it be possible not to be struck with the analogy which they bear, in all their leading and peculiar features, to the Orange faction in Ireland. Those who have paid any attention to their sayings and doings, will not, we are persuaded, accuse us of misrepre-

*See Note G.

senting them, when we say that they lack little of the full grown proportions of that *monster*, (to make a still more just and striking application of the memorable and emphatic epithet by which General Jackson stigmatized the United States' Bank) which *has been*, and, though much shorn of its portentous strength, *still is* the plague, the curse of unhappy Ireland. Nay, we are well informed that there are not only some notorious Orangemen in the present House of Assembly in the sister Province, but we have good reason to believe that there is a secret compact of these illuminati, and that a bond of fraternisation has been clandestinely entered into among the choice spirits who possess those intellectual, moral and political qualifications which fit them for such an initiation—which render them worthy of the bad eminence, the base distinction which such a matriculation confers! We remark that the Roman Catholics of Kingston have presented a very moderate, but manly and impressive memorial to Sir Francis Head, complaining of *this pious and patriotic association—of this liberal and enlightened movement*, worthy of the heads and of the hearts of those statesmen and legislators who have long held the chief sway, in *Little York and Toronto*. This holy League or Alliance are piously invoking the Alecto of Ireland into Canada; and if they durst, would, in the *Estus* of their Party fanaticism, raise openly, their war cry of Protestant Ascendancy, and let loose all the hellhounds of political and religious discord, amongst a peaceable, loyal and happy population. It is fortunate for the Colony and the mother country that at this moment, Orangism is so well unmasked—its features are so well known, its spirit and fruits so thoroughly dreaded and abominated in Britain—that there is no chance whatever of its escaping *here* that destiny which is meet—we think its doom is sealed—and we trust that its reign is now about to close forever—that it will fall like Lucifer—never to rise again.

But to return from our digression. These and such as these are the men by whom our Governors have hitherto been surrounded—with whom they have been in the constant habit of almost exclusive intercourse—of confidential intimacy from the first moment of their assumption of the government. In fact, these are the men, that have hitherto filled the councils—monopolised the offices of government, who have principally originated public measures and almost wholly guided and administered Colonial affairs. How is it possible that looking through such a discoloring medium, our rulers should have obtained a clear, or steady view of the state and interests of the Colony, or of the wants and wishes of the population. These are the men, with whom, until a new and better system shall happily be organized, our governors are necessarily united in their warfare against the common enemy, the Radical, Republican, Revolutionary Faction.—The necessity under which they are placed, of employing the one extreme party to put down or counteract the opposite extreme, is the natural bond of union between them. The remedy is of that sort which aggravates the distemper, and will render it in the end incurable. The Tory party come into power through the unwarrantable and revolutionary violence of their antagonists, and are no sooner in

*See Note H.

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power, than by some outrageous proceeding, they create a reaction which hurls them down again to pave the way for the triumphant return of the Radicals—and the last state is worse than the first. Is this fact? "Ask of the years that are past and they will tell you?"

It requires wonderful little sagacity to perceive that as long as a course is pursued by our rulers which is narrow, illiberal and exclusive, they deprive themselves unavoidably of the confidence and support of the people—are, in a manner, compelled to form this unworthy, impolitic, and fatal alliance—they are drawn, or rather driven into a league with men of this kidney, the ultimate effect of which is, to establish "*Imperium in imperio*," investing these *worthies* with an ascendant influence—at least—in the Executive Department, and in the Legislative Council, composed as it has been, and still is, almost exclusively of the same elements. Nor is it to be wondered, if—with the natural and hereditary prepossessions which must be expected, more or less, to be inherent in men, who are themselves, with rare exceptions, of aristocratic birth and breeding, and therefore, not always without a tinge of the prejudices of their order,—our governors allow themselves to be carried too far, in their dread of—and antipathy to—the self styled popular or liberal party, and are consequently prone to fall in too much with the equally selfish, and as we deem, even more dangerous designs, of their antagonists; in the contrary extreme.

Until very recently too, our governors have with rare exceptions, belonged to the military profession, and whatever may have been their merits in other respects, they have not inclined too much to the popular side. The maxims of their administration have savoured very little of the liberal or conciliatory spirit, which is essential, at least in our American Colonies, and among the very heterogeneous population subjected to their rule. Some of our governors, in addition to all this, have been high church men of the Orange school, bigots in religion, as well as in politics, and passive tools in the hands of Dr. Strachan, who, whatever may be his estimable qualities in private life, has, without all question, been the prime agent in creating all the discontents in the sister Province, and in neutralizing the natural tendency of things there, to promote a growing attachment of all classes of the population, to the Provincial and to the Parent Government; and—to produce general harmony, contentment and prosperity within the Colony. The venerable Archdeacon of Toronto, is, in our mind, a perfect reflexion, in his moral and political character, of the famous Archbishop Sharpe, and would make a capital subject for a graphic picture, such as Galt has drawn in his novels, of a *certain class of Scotsmen*, who, actuated by a pride and ambition, not of the noblest order, are extremely supple, shrewd, *canny* as well as active, persevering and indefatigable in their efforts to *get on*; that class who seek dignity and honor rather *from the world without than from the world within*; and inasmuch as self respect, independence, disinterestedness and an enlightened and enlarged spirit of liberality—purged to the uttermost from the dross of selfish, low ambition—are the qualities that form a wise and

*See Note I.

patriotic statesman or legislator, we conceive that there are no men so mischievous, so dangerous, when possessed of power and influence over the destinies of nations, as men formed in such mould and of such clay as Dr. Strachan. Their views are shallow, their aims are low, their measures weak, their motives selfish or factious—and their presumption, is in proportion to their incapacity. It is lamentable, it is mortifying to think how much government is perverted by men of mean minds, and narrow views, whose only merit is industry and party zeal—and who—wanting those endowments, intellectual and moral, which would fit them to tread the lofty path of a noble and generous ambition, carry with them—when the caprice of fortune elevates them, above their natural sphere—"the meanness that soars, and pride that licks the dust," all those arts and qualities which render them actively and obstinately mischievous, with a self conceit which leaves no hope of their ever coming to an ingenuous feeling, of their unfitness for the place which they occupy, and consequently to the wise and virtuous determination of sacrificing to their conscience or their country, their selfish and party interests.

But to proceed—when it is considered how short is the period, generally speaking, of the residence of our successive governors in the colony, and how superficial and imperfect, in most instances, their knowledge of the people and of parties, when they enter upon their administration, it will not be difficult to account for the fact, that hitherto, they have often been little better than tools, and puppets, in the hands of the officials in Toronto and Quebec, and this we have no doubt has been the real, original ground of disaffection to the government, and of dissension, distrust, and division in the Colony. Nor will the effect cease, until we shall have the most unequivocal demonstration that the cause is finally and forever taken away. Here the blow must be struck, otherwise, our political Hydra will continue to shoot forth new heads, and abuses and discontents will be produced and reproduced, until patience is exhausted, and the complete alienation of the affections of the colonists from the mother country, shall issue in the final and speedy dissolution of our union.

Sir Francis Head, the present governor of Upper Canada, appears to be now generally popular, but "let him that standeth, take heed lest he fall." We would not bid him reckon too confidently on the continuance of his popularity—if he do not exert all his authority and influence, to effect with promptitude and energy, such a settlement of the Church question as may leave "no hot embers to smoulder beneath the deceitful ashes." "*Incedit per ignes suppositos cineri doloso.*"—We think now is the time—if he have sagacity, decision, and energy to improve it—to give permanent stability and almost universal credit and confidence to his government. "Now is the tide in his affairs which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," but if lost can never be recalled. If the general opinion of his character be correct, we should entertain sanguine hopes of a favourable issue, of a happy consummation. Yet surrounded, as he is, by such advisers, who—if we do not wrong them—are a sort of *political non conductors* between the governor and the colony, obstructing rather than facilitating the communication of that mu-

tual influence between the nations, that the groundment he a peculiar circumstance—Thrown in government—their principles which, we deem, an ant—measures, we deem, implicitly men as H result be n lean ever s tion which until losing High Church wherever disaffection, embarrass will afford be made fe ularity.

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tual influence and intelligence, which it is so essential to maintain between the ruler and his subjects; we must not disguise our apprehensions, that, placed in these circumstances, he may not be duly aware of the ground on which he treads, of the spirit of the people, whose government he administers, and of the liberal course of policy which the peculiar circumstances of our American Colonies, absolutely demand. Thrown into collision—almost at the moment of his assuming the government—with the leaders of the self-styled liberal party, we fear that their principles and proceedings may have created—even in his mind, which, we are not unwilling to believe, is strong, manly and independent—an antipathy to them and their party, and all their views and measures, which may carry him too far towards the opposite, and as we deem, still more dangerous extreme. And should he be induced too implicitly to trust, and too passively to fall in with the counsels of such men as Hagerman, Draper, and Strachan, we are no prophets, if the result be not speedily fatal to his popularity and usefulness. Let him lean ever so little, in the first instance, to this side, he will create a reaction which must force him to go further than he wist or contemplated, until losing all confidence and attachment except on the side of the High Church, or Ultra party, he will have no choice but to follow, wherever their rash counsels and blind bigotry may lead; a growing disaffection, a growing opposition from every other quarter, will first embarrass and perplex, and at last paralyze his government, and he will afford another melancholy example, how soon the transition may be made from the Zenith of popular favour to the very Nadir of unpopularity.

If Sir Francis Head hopes to give a death blow to the disloyal or revolutionizing faction—if he seeks to redeem the Province from discord and distraction, and to bind fast its union with Britain—let him hasten to purge his court and his councils of the evil leaven of Canadian Orangism. We say again and again, beware of the men who cloak the most extreme and unprincipled selfishness, under a masque of feigned and officious loyalty. Beware of these men and their measures—and you may sleep in peace as to any apprehensions of serious danger from the opposite quarter. We will not suppress or dissemble our strong suspicions that the dominant Church party are already winding their fetters around the neck of Sir Francis. It is really alarming and portentous to read some of the recent appointments which he has made “*alieno loco et tempore*,” (to adopt Caesar’s phrase) to the highest and most influential offices. Hagerman, Draper, Jones!—these names are sufficient to discredit the government—and such appointments—taken in conjunction with the endowment of the rectories, and the late manifestations of high Church bigotry, by a numerous and powerful section of the House of Assembly—have begun already to create a reaction of the most formidable nature. It is a precious specimen of the utter lack of common discretion—which by a kind of law of Providence is very generally connected with the lack of integrity and virtue—in the majority at least of this party—that almost at the very commencement of a ses-

*See Note K.

sion, in which had they not been blind, they must have perceived that the eyes of the whole province were earnestly fastened upon them and their proceedings—in which they were entering upon their probation and their first movements would necessarily be regarded as a pledge of their principles—they should all at once have declared themselves—in many instances, in violation of express and solemn pledges wrung from them by the Electors—the *very antipodes* of all that their constituents had reason, not merely to hope, but confidently to anticipate. Their first act may be said to have consummated the demonstration of their folly—and to have sealed their fate, by precluding the possibility of their ever regaining public confidence. They have in the most wanton manner disgusted and irretrievably alienated from them and their faction—for which, no doubt, the Province owes them thanks, as one of the few services unwillingly rendered by them—their once faithful—we had almost said devoted allies, the Scottish party. With the most egregious and preposterous folly, they have alarmed and aroused a sleeping lion.

The members of the Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterians generally—in number, wealth, intelligence and energy, second to no denomination in the Upper Province—had been lulled into security by the prospect held out to them of participating equally in the reserved Lands, and of being placed on the same footing in every respect with the sister establishment. The endowment of the Rectories has awakened them—blind as they had long been to many unequivocal signs and omens, significantly declaring the real designs of government—to a conviction of their error, and their resentment, as might have been foreseen, is vehement in proportion to the great and unexpected disappointment which they have experienced. In thus setting at nought the claims of their Scottish subjects, the government are chargeable at once with injustice, impolicy and ingratitude—for we believe that they have been among the foremost in loyalty and attachment, and have mainly contributed by their industry, intelligence and worth, to the prosperity of the Colony and the extension and aggrandisement of the Empire.* The loss of the attachment of this portion of the Colonists would go a great way to break the bond of union with the parent State. The government will soon find to their cost, that what might have been their strength and security, will not only be taken from them, but, if they persist in the same partial and iniquitous course, will be thrown into active opposition and hostility—and this opposition, formidable enough in itself, especially when we take into account the present unsettled state of both Provinces, will be only a prelude to a general league or combination of all the other religious denominations, which feel themselves aggrieved, and, we have no doubt, will end at last in a compromise between those who advocate the appropriation of the Church Lands to Religion, and those who contend for their diversion to the service of General Education.

It is easy to foresee what jealousies, bickerings and collisions will necessarily grow out of this attempt to make a distribution of the land among the leading sects. Each, in the spirit of that selfishness which

*See Note L.

is inseparable for itself. The Churchment, will go hard but much the fusion would and violent paramour will be the activity and weakness practical of sacrificing and we have high church ed and pronounced the batown influence of their behalf with whose sumed to the

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is inseparable from all communities, civil and ecclesiastical, will claim for itself a greater share than the others will be willing to concede. The Church with her partizans, taking advantage of the favor of government, will spare no pains to overreach all her competitors, and it will go hard but she will contrive, *by hook or crook*, to possess herself of much the largest dividend. The upshot of this scramble will be confusion worse confounded. The Provinces will be thrown into a general and violent ferment. The majority will be disaffected—disgusted—the paramount sect odious—the government unpopular. The only gainers will be the radical or revolutionary party, who are not lacking in zeal, activity and vigor, to improve every advantage, which the folly or the weakness of the rulers may offer. The result will afford a splendid practical comment upon the wisdom and forecasts of the advocates for sacrificing these lands to Peace, and to the promotion of Education; and we would seriously admonish the Legislative Council, and the high church partizans generally, to take heed in time, that their affected and overstrained zeal to prevent what the cant of faction has denounced as sacrilege, and spoliation—may not have the effect of directing the battery of the combined powers at no distant day, against their own influence and privileges. We would warn them of the possibility of their being trodden down, under the feet of an indignant population, with whose feelings and rights, they have unwisely and selfishly presumed to tamper.

We really wonder that even selfish eagerness to get possession of the loaves and fishes, can blind men, to what seems to us, so plain and palpable, as the utter impossibility of disposing of these lands, in any way—that will not involve inextricable perplexity, on the one hand, or downright revolution on the other—save that very simple, safe, and most popular one, of dedicating them to Education, a purpose so much akin to their original destination, that it can scarcely be considered as an alienation or diversion of them from the appropriation designed by the constitutional act—it could scarcely be considered as a departure from the general spirit and principle of said enactment.

As the Scottish party have generally united with the advocates for a dominant church, in the opinion that the Reserves should not be withdrawn from the support of Religion—we would respectfully invite their attention to a few remarks, which may serve to evince to them, how little probability there is, that their hopes will be realized, under any arrangement, which can be expected, under the existing state of the government, to be adopted—or—if adopted, to be fairly acted upon—in conformity with their views. We would adjure them to be guided in their judgment of the future, by their uniform experience of the past—we would make our appeal to their good sense, to their moral feelings, in such terms as these.

“The experience of the past, must have taught you how little you are in favour with the government; how feeble is your influence, at Head Quarters, and how impotent, when it is not supported and enforced by the general voice of the Province, to carry any point, which your jealous rival thinks it worth while to oppose: you cannot be igno-

rant that you are cordially hated, by the now dominant party in the Legislature, who, if they durst, would spurn and trample upon you. They hate you, and would make no scruple to shew how much they hold you in aversion, if they did not fear you. Yes they fear, and well they may, your number—your energy—your determination—should you rise up united, like your forefathers, with the unwelcome conviction impressed upon your minds, that you had nothing to expect, with all your loyalty and devotion, but what your own resolution and spirit, should extort from a reluctant government—less grateful for all that it owes to your support—than irritated by your present opposition. Whatever has been vouchsafed to you hitherto, (and you can best tell what cause you have to boast of the favors conferred upon you) has been given, manifestly less from favor, than from fear—from a political necessity—it has been a cake to Cerberus—you have been treated—and think not that this has been done without preconcerted design—as dissenters. Whatever has been given you, has been given out of the same funds, and precisely on the same footing, and in the same proportion, as to other dissenting bodies, who have shared with you. Nay, you have been told by that wise, moderate, discreet and amiable personage, his Majesty's late Solicitor and now Attorney General, that your church is to be treated, as any other sect of dissenters, in a Colony—in which the Roman Catholic Church is pronounced, by this high legal authority, to be an Establishment,—and he breathes forth his threatenings, that should you dare, in *one instance*, to champ the bit—or to kick your rider—he is ready, in the true spirit of persecuting insolence, to prosecute, as the first legal officer of the Crown, any minister of the Established Church of Scotland, who shall assert his constitutional rights, who shall manfully resist Colonial tyranny—legalised iniquity and oppression..

Your present precarious allowances, were a bribe to make you sit still, and wink at such movements as were, no doubt, contemplated from the first to be made, under the auspices of Sir John Colborne, for the purpose of putting the favoured church *stealthily* in actual legal possession of her utmost pretensions. And doubt not that you are denounced as an ungrateful, stubborn, unmanageable race, stiff necked, like your fathers, who would not bow the knee, who would not bend the neck, to the gentle and easy yoke of Prelacy, in days of yore. Be assured that it is not from any love or tenderness to you, that your government allowances are not revoked forthwith, since they have failed to induce your silent tame submission "to a yoke, which neither you nor your fathers would bear."

Flatter not yourselves with the hope, that you will in future possess an equal standing, an equal influence with your sister Establishment in the Colony. Bishops are much more manageable for party and political purposes, than Presbyteries and Synods, which are too many headed, and too many willed to be used as a convenient or serviceable engine of state or of faction. Even should not the Church of England obtain—as in all human probability she will—the lion's share, her

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share will be such as to make her Clergy independant, of popular support. She will obtain what Archimedes required for his lever, a solid foundation to stand upon, so as to give her full scope, to extend, confirm and perpetuate her influence. She will possess the chief weight in the councils of government, and will be felt an overmatch for all her rivals—for all other sects united. She will, through her preponderant influence, acquire the chief direction of Education, and the management of the Universities: she will monopolize in a manner, the honours, offices, emoluments—Literary and Ecclesiastical—at the disposal of government—she will *maintain*—it is scarcely possible for her to *augment*—her vast ascendancy at head quarters. All official men, with a few rare exceptions, will be of her party, of her communion; and you will be jealously watched, carefully excluded from place and power, as her most able, ambitious and formidable rivals." Are we borne out in what we now say, by facts? by the experience of the past? Have we exaggerated aught, or set down aught in malice? We challenge the Scottish Clergy to declare whether we have written a syllable on this point, which their own experience does not amply verify.

We would adjure this respectable and enlightened body to weigh well how little they would actually forego, or rather how much they and their church would in reality, ultimately gain, were the reserves wholly withdrawn, and we put it to their wisdom, their virtue, their patriotism, to balance against any personal or pecuniary sacrifice, which such a resignation might be supposed to involve, the amount of public good, which will be secured, in the utter extinction of the whole ground of controversy. This in fact would annihilate for ever, all the ambitious hopes of the Anglican Church, and of that political faction, which is desirous to avail itself of a dominant church, as an engine to perpetuate its ascendancy, and to propagate its principles and influence. The great monopoly being thus swept away, would preclude the possibility of any party monopolizing civil or ecclesiastical influence. The different sects would all be placed on a level in their competition with one another. Each would enjoy all the credit and respect, to which it is naturally and justly entitled, and would retain it—in the same proportion—as long as it should continue, in the public esteem, to merit it. There would be peace in Israel; and religious peace, is a good security for political unity and concord. If the Clergy, left to depend upon the voluntary contributions of their hearers, would have a less secure, or a less ample provision, it would be enjoyed with a good conscience, without the painful reflection, that the price paid for it, was—nothing less than the peace of the Colony—nothing less than religious concord, and social confidence and good will, throughout the whole community. Whatever the amount of their temporal provision might be, the average rate would be the same, or nearly so, to the Clergy of all denominations; varying only with the varying wealth of the flock, and the measure of qualifications of the Pastor. The relative standing and respectability of all the different Churches, would thus depend—not upon extrinsic or adventitious circumstances—but solely upon their comparative worth and usefulness, ascertained by public opinion—unfettered by prejudice—un-

influenced by political party. Inequality in their temporal provision, or ecclesiastical and political standing, would not derange the natural order, would not disturb the natural course of things, under the voluntary system, while the ties would be drawn closer between the Pastors and the people, and the latter, disburdened of the charge of Education, by the appropriation of the Church Lands to this object, would have more means, and better disposition, it is reasonable to suppose, to make provision for the support of an enlightened Clergy. Nor does there appear to be any just ground of objection to the extension of aid, on the part of the Legislature or Government, to the different religious bodies, in the infant state of the colony, for building churches, and supporting ministers and missionaries; while the spirit of the constitutional act might be fulfilled, by making liberal appropriations of money or lands, to the endowment and maintenance of Theological Schools or Colleges, so as to ensure an abundant supply of Pastors, well qualified in all divine and human learning, to discharge effectively the office of Religious instruction to the several Sects.

We would earnestly entreat the Clergy of the Church of Scotland, in the Colony, to weigh against all the more than doubtful advantages of a government provision, in circumstances which, in consequence of the vast preponderance of power and influence on the side of the favored church, would—obviously and inevitably—lead to extreme inequality, and produce all the real evils of domination, in respect to themselves and all other denominations; and let them pause before they resolve to persist, in a course, which will, we are persuaded, lead to results that would endanger the peace and well being of the Colony, and place, in the hands of the adverse party, to be wielded for their depression, and that of all other denominations—a permanent power, to which their united strength—upon the most sanguine calculations—would be an inadequate counterpoise.

Were all placed upon an equal footing, and the possibility of erecting any Ecclesiastical dominancy thereby, effectually precluded, the character and qualifications of the Scottish Clergy, would necessarily secure them a standing second to no other Clergy in the Province. They would, in this event, have an equal chance—with manifold advantages in their favor—for the attainment of their just and merited influence, in the direction of Education, and—for participation, in due measure, of the honors and advantages—Literary and Ecclesiastical—which would thus become open to free, equal, and universal competition, and which, on the other supposition, we conceive, will be all but monopolized, as they now are, and have heretofore been, by the sister Establishment.

We submit these reflections to the consideration of the Scottish party, as an "*argumentum ad hominem*," nor will they be offended, we flatter ourselves, by this frankness and candor, in dealing with them, as men liable to be biassed, and determined by motives of personal or professional interest. It is necessary to clear away the mists of prejudice, and self love, in order that truth may be distinctly seen, and higher and better motives may have free scope, and unimpeded operation.

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We would fain hope, that the sagacity and good sense of their national character will not desert them at this crisis—a crisis—involving deeply, not only their own interests and respectability, but the future well being of the Colony at large.

It is to no purpose, at this moment, to turn their eyes to Scotland, to adopt the language or the views of the Church in the parent land, whose circumstances, in almost every respect, admit of no just comparison with their own. It is mere ignorance and senselessness, to exclaim against the sentiments and doctrines, which we now advocate, as inconsistent with, or subversive of, the fundamental laws, and constitution of that ancient, and venerable establishment.

It is a law of God, and nature, that diversity of time and space shall create a diversity in the civil and ecclesiastical state. No human laws or institutions are, in their nature, perfect, or incapable of amelioration. To none, hath God given a charter of immutability. Change of time and place, and circumstance, generally implies a change, in the same degree, of law and order, in every social constitution.

The Scottish Clergy are only treading in the footsteps of the immortal fathers and founders of their Church; they are only imitating *their* enlightened and magnanimous wisdom, in searching out that order, which is most suitable to the circumstances, in which they find themselves and their church now placed. And they will act in a manner very unlike the wisdom of our great reformers in the sixteenth century, should they—blindly and preposterously—seek to engraft upon the stock of Canadian society, institutions which, however happily adjusted to the exigencies of the parent land, are utterly out of place, in the latitude of North America—are utterly out of season, in the infant state of a Colony, in the middle of the nineteenth century.

We would beseech the Clergy and Lay adherents of the Scottish Church in Canada, to open their eyes to the actual state of the Religious world around them; to allow their own sound sense, and christian feeling, to operate without heat or prejudice. We challenge them upon the faith of christian men, of christian ministers, to declare before the world—what hope, in their honest and deliberate judgment, can be entertained of the final success of any scheme of adjusting the *Questio Vexata* of the Reserves, which shall not be satisfactory at least, to the great majority of the population? And bearing in mind that such an adjustment is, in a manner, utterly impracticable, because, *in the first place*, it is premature, in the infancy of the Colony, to think of determining the relative proportions, and thereby the rightful claims of the several sects, which, in order to satisfy the majority, must be comprehended in the proposed provision; and because *in the next place*, nothing short of universal dissension, inextricable confusion, can result from the attempt to apply the rule of distributive proportion, in a case, in which selfish interests and religious prejudices and antipathies, will be at once aroused, and put into violent action. We would therefore conjure the Scottish Clergy, as they value the reputation of an enlightened and public spirited body—as they tender the first and most essential element of

the christian character namely, "to seek those things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another"—as they tender the dearest and most momentous interests of religion; and of their parent and adopted country—that they would in this crisis, set the example of disinterested and enlightened patriotism, as well as of christian charity, and self denial, by renouncing for themselves, all claim to the reserved lands—provided the government and legislature, shall consent to the only simple, safe, and satisfactory settlement, of this most perplexing, and exciting question, by withdrawing them from all denominations, and converting, what is now an apple of discord, into the means of placing education on a footing, which shall enable us to rival the nations which stand foremost, in their encouragement of this first and noblest of the arts; or, which shall advance us at least, half a century, in the progress of our internal improvements: and let the Clergy be assured that as "in the peace of the country they shall have peace,"—so, if they be faithful in their office—"in its prosperity they shall prosper"—and we are persuaded that their disinterestedness, in making and recommending the proposed sacrifice, while it would conduce to the best interests of religion and of the country, would be found, in its ultimate result, little detrimental to their personal and secular interests.

Whatever may be the sentiments or the conduct of the Clergy, we shall wonder very much, if the lay members of the Presbyterian Church, and indeed, of all churches, have not their eyes opened, *now, at the eleventh hour*, to the fierce and interminable dissensions, which must grow out of this question, if the decisive remedy, which we recommend, be not speedily adopted. "The beginning of strife is like the letting out of water." And we are only in the beginning of this controversy. The flames are kindling; they are blazing forth; the conflagration is spreading—it will soon be universal—inextinguishable. The popularity of the present Governor and House of Assembly will be irretrievably ruined, should they persist in their present views. The further they advance, the more perplexing and inextricable will their difficulties become. It is almost impossible, that any arrangement—however wise and impartial, that can be made for their distribution among the leading sects—should prove satisfactory. A storm of popular indignation, awaits the consummation of any scheme founded upon this basis.

Were it possible to content all parties, by any present settlement of this question; who does not see that it must prove a fruitful source of dissension in the Colony, and of disaffection to the government, in time to come.

In the progress of the Colony, and the rapid growth of its population, the relative proportions of the several sects, in regard to number, wealth and influence, will be continually changing. Any permanent arrangement now made, would therefore exclude, perhaps a few years hence, a numerous and important body of the colonists. Without presuming—what we fear is too likely to happen—that the sects provided for by the

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state, shall abuse, or employ in any way, to the vexation or detriment of those that are excluded, the power, and influence which such provision must throw into their hands—it is impossible not to foresee—that government must either make new allotments of land, for the new sects that shall spring up, or—growing discontent and disaffection will be the unhappy result. Future generations will rise up to denounce the short-sighted and impolitic Legislators, who shall have entailed upon posterity, so great and incurable an evil. We can see no way of escape save in at once—decisively and boldly—cutting this Gordian knot in our Politics. If the Governor and Legislature moor themselves to the resolution of appropriating the lands to the direct support of religion, and its ministers, they will find, that not all the strength of their cables, nor the weight of their anchors, will be sufficient to hold out against the popular storm that is impending.

It may be confidently affirmed that there is no question that ever came before the Legislature, that calls for more grave and earnest deliberation, or of which the decision will produce more of good or evil, to the present, and more especially to future generations. When we contemplate all the difficulties which, in the parent country, disturb the government, and divide the Legislature—arising out of religious preferences, and exclusions in Britain and Ireland, and which have lately begun to manifest themselves in the Colonies, it ought to inspire us with extreme caution, how we legislate on a subject so momentous and so delicate. It will be allowed on all hands, that there is infinite danger, in adopting rashly and without profound deliberation, any general or permanent scheme, of which the final issue and practical working, cannot be divined by the most sagacious and far sighted statesman—in an age—in which so many new and ill understood elements must enter into our calculations. It is much better to do nothing in such a case, than to do wrong—when the error must be at once great and irretrievable. We trust therefore, that the friends of the liberal cause, whatever may be their shades of difference, will all unite cordially—next session of the legislature in Upper Canada—to obtain such a decision—as shall at least avert the misery and degradation inseparable from a dominant church—and that they will strive with an energy and zeal, worthy of so great and so good a cause, to ensure for ever to these Colonies, the inestimable blessing of equal and universal religious liberty—as the first and surest bond of internal peace, and harmony, and—as the best pledge for the purity and efficiency of the institutions and means of intellectual, moral and religious improvement—the mainspring of a nation's power, prosperity and happiness.

NOTES.

NOTE. A.

That the endowment of the Rectories, was a violation of the instructions transmitted to Sir John Colborne, by Lord Goderich, in his famous despatch of 8th November, 1832—which proved so unpalatable to the Tory Party, on account of the truly liberal spirit which it breathed—will appear from the following extract.

"I deeply regret that in some parts of his papers, Mr. Mackenzie should have left in much obscurity the simple matters of fact which it might have been really important to consider. Thus he speaks of preachers taught to meddle in the political quarrels of factions and parties, and of their leaders being 'accommodated with seats in the political councils of the State, and of the Government keeping in pay a political priesthood.' It would surely have been as impressive and more useful to have stated that the Bishop and the Archdeacon are both on the list of the Legislative Council, but that it is expected of those gentlemen that they should altogether abstain from interference in any secular matters which may be agitated at that board. Whether even under this restriction their holding such seats is really desirable, is a question upon which I am fully prepared to listen with the utmost attention to any advice which I may receive from yourself, from the House of Assembly, or from any other competent authority. I have no solicitude for retaining either the Bishop or the Archdeacon on the list of Councillors, but am, on the contrary, rather pre-disposed to the opinion that by resigning their seats they would best consult their own personal comfort, and the success of their designs for the spiritual good of the people. But any such resignation must be voluntary, since the office is held for life, and were it otherwise, no consideration could induce me to advise His Majesty to degrade the Bishop or the Archdeacon from the stations they occupy, except upon the most conclusive proof of misconduct. But even Mr. Mackenzie does not impute any violation of duty to them. *With respect to the charge of shewing an undue preference to preachers of religion belonging to the established churches of this country, it is so utterly at variance with the whole course of policy which it has been the object of any dispatches to yourself to prescribe, that I cannot pause to repel it in any formal manner.*"

The same instructions are adopted, and reiterated, in the most emphatic manner, by Lord Glenelg, to Sir Francis Head—and it is therefore difficult to believe that Sir John could have had the sanction of the Colonial Minister, in the endowment of the Rectories, or if he had, it must have been given inadvertently, or through some mistake—for that it "shews an undue preference to the preachers of one of the established churches," is undeniable.

"The next topic of complaint is that many of the recommendations contained in Lord Ripon's despatch of the 8th November, 1832, have not been carried into effect. Amongst these are especially mentioned such as relate to the amendment of the Election Laws:—the non-interference of His Majesty's Officers at Elections;—

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—“the disclosures to the House of the receipt and expenditure of the Crown Revenue;—the exclusion of Ministers of Religion from the Legislative and Executive Councils;—the reducing the costs of Elections;—the judicial independence; and the limitation of the number of public officers, who may sit in the Assembly.

“Adhering without reserve or qualification to all the instructions issued under His Majesty’s commands by Lord Ripon, the King is pleased to direct, that you do adopt that Despatch as a rule for the guidance of your own conduct, and that you exert your legitimate authority and influence to the utmost possible extent to carry into effect all such of His Lordships suggestions, as may still continue unfulfilled.”

The following extract will show how little avail all the reasonings in favour of a dominant church, founded upon the Constitutional Act, and upon the alleged views of its framers.

“Parliamentary legislation on any subject of exclusively internal concern in any British Colony possessing a representative assembly, is, as a general rule, unconstitutional.

“It is a right of which the exercise is reserved for extreme cases, in which necessity at once creates and justifies the exception. But important as is the question of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada, yet I cannot find in the actual state of the question any such exigency as would vindicate the Imperial Legislature in transferring to themselves the settlement of this controversy. The conflict of opinion between the two Houses upon this subject, much as it is to be lamented, yet involves no urgent danger to the peace of society, and presents no insuperable impediment to the ordinary administration of affairs; although a great evil, it is not such as to exclude every hope of mitigation by the natural progress of discussion, and by the influence of that spirit which, in public affairs, not seldom suggests to parties, alike solicitous for the general good, some mutual surrender of extreme views, and some compromise on either side of difference, which at first sight might have appeared irreconcilable.

“Until every prospect of adjusting this dispute within the province itself shall have been distinctly exhausted, the time for the interposition of Parliament will not have arrived, unless indeed, both Houses shall concur in soliciting that interposition; in which event, there would of course, be an end to constitutional objections already noticed.

“The second ground on which I think myself bound to abstain from advising His Majesty from referring this question immediately to Parliament, is that the authors of the Constitutional Act, have declared this to be one of those subjects, in regard to which the initiative is expressly reserved and recognized as falling within the peculiar province and the special cognizance of the local Legislature, although its ultimate completion is no less distinctly made to depend, in addition to the ordinary submission to His Majesty, on the acquiescence of the Imperial Parliament.

“It is not difficult to perceive the reasons which induced parliament in 1791, to connect with a reservation of land for ecclesiastical purposes the special delegation to the Council and Assembly of the right to vary that provision by any bill, which being reserved for the signification of His Majesty’s pleasure, should be communicated to both houses of parliament for six weeks before that decision was pronounced. Remembering, it should seem, how fertile a source of controversy ecclesiastical endowments had supplied throughout a large part of the christian world, and how impossible it was to foretell with precision what might be the prevailing opinions and feelings of the Canadians on this subject at a future period, parliament at once secured the means of making a systematic provision for a protestant clergy, and took full precaution against the eventual inaptitude of that system to the more advanced stages of a society then in its infant state, and of which no human foresight could divine the more mature and settled judgment.”

NOTE B.

Nothing can better illustrate the wretched character of the government of these Colonies, than the illiberal and impolitic treatment of the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland, in the Canadas.—Having every claim to the protection and favor of the Colonial, as well as the Parent Government, which could be urged on constitutional grounds by the Church of England—and—in the number, wealth, respectability, loyalty, influence, and highly meritorious character of her adherents—in the learning, worth, and efficiency of her Clergy—in the degree of her capacity to promote all the interests, spiritual and secular, of the Colony, and of the Empire, in return for whatever patronage and bounty might be vouchsafed her—having every recommendation which could be pretended in favor of her sister Establishment—it must be allowed on all hands, that her treatment reflects indelible reproach upon the government and legislature, first of the Colony, and next of the Mother Country. Will it be believed, that the statute book in Upper Canada, contains at this moment, an enactment so degrading and iniquitous, to the people and Clergy of the Church of Scotland, as that which His Majesty's first Law Officer, in the face of the Legislature, with the insolent baseness of a mean mind, scoffingly appealed to, last session of the Upper Canada Parliament, namely, that which obliges their ministers to appear before the Court of Quarter Sessions, in order to obtain permission to exercise the pastoral functions in a British Colony—won in a great measure by their valour, enriched by their industry, enlightened and adorned by their talents and learning? By another statute, their Clergy are prohibited to marry, unless both the contracting parties are Presbyterians! Until within a few years ago, there was a statute of the Provincial Parliament, which cast a doubt over the validity of marriages solemnised by ministers of the Kirk in Lower Canada!—This stain was wiped out only upon the express application of her ministers, settled in that Province—after it had been allowed to stand for many years. That such statutes should have been passed—that they should have been tolerated for a single day, reflects deep and indelible reproach upon the government, upon the Legislature, upon those official men, who, like Hagerman, have been prominently and ingloriously active, in advocating such iniquitous legislation—and most chiefly are they a reproach to those leading and influential Scotsmen in these Colonies, who—if they had possessed one grain of self respect, of national spirit, of generous pride or highmindedness, of filial affection, or reverence for their country, or the venerable Church of their Fathers—would not have left it a question at this moment, whether they and their countrymen, have equal rights and privileges, civil and religious, with their brethren to the south of the Tweed! Who does not know that their influence has been, and yet is such, that had they not proved—worse than recreants—traitors to their own, and their country's cause, there would have long ere now been an end of all these unhappy dissensions, on the score of religious rights.

Are Scotsmen to be told to their face, is it to be proclaimed before the sun, and before all the world, that they have not, may not have equality of rights and privileges with the most favored of Britain's sons? what would these Colonies, nay, what would the British Empire, have been at this hour, without their energies, without their intelligence and enterprise? Were honors and advantages to be dispensed in proportion to services and merits, who, we demand, would be entitled to the largest pro-

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portion of the dividend? "If these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in a dry?" What have other men to hope for, when such is the treatment of the Church of Scotland—who would not despair of the future, if the government of our Colonies were to be conducted by such men, and in such a spirit, in time to come! Thank heaven, we trust, we may now hail "*the beginning of the end.*"

NOTE C.

It can admit of no doubt, that the difficulties which are now experienced in the government of the Canadas, have had their origin in the misconduct of the Executive and Legislative Councils. Such in fact is the conclusion to which the Royal Commissioners have come, in their Report on the state of Lower Canada. It will remain for the impartial historian to trace the rise and progress of the discontents and distractions, which now agitate Lower Canada, and form perhaps, the most delicate and perilous question, which the Legislature of the Parent country have been called to decide upon, since the unfortunate disputes which issued in the American Revolution. We have every reason to believe, that the original and capital error, which has been the fountain head (*fontes et origo*) of the whole mischief, was the admission of Ecclesiastics into the Legislative and Executive Councils, and the power and influence vested in them with a view to the establishment of a dominant church. As a necessary part of this Utopian scheme, the creation of a colonial aristocracy, was without doubt, one of the day dreams of our Officials and Counsellors. Fortunately for the Colony, their wisdom and abilities bore no manner of proportion to their ambition, and the policy of these Ahitophels—Laic and Ecclesiastic—has been indeed *foolishness*. Unfortunately, however, the most serious and threatening evils have resulted from the shallow machinations of this Politico-Ecclesiastical Junto—and—much as we must bewail the animosities which at present divide the French and English Races, in the Lower Province, we verily believe that nothing less could have sufficed to rescue us from a factious domination, similar in kind, and not much less grievous in amount, than that which has afflicted Ireland. That the foundation was laid broad and deep, and that some progress was made in advancing the structure, until the fury of our civil and political dissensions, has, we trust, finally annihilated the project—it would be easy to demonstrate by a reference to facts. Among many other documents, which might be adduced in proof of the sympathy which exists between the Legislative Council of Upper Canada and the High Church party, we recommend to the attention of those who feel an interest in the matter—"a Report of a Select Committee of that Body, upon the provision made by law for a Protestant Clergy, &c." which is a piece of special pleading in behalf of the exclusive pretensions of the Anglican Church, under the flimsy veil of an ill affected candor and impartiality. There can be no reasonable ground of hope, for the satisfactory adjustment of our religious differences, until new and very different elements shall predominate in the composition of this Body, which, we believe, calls more loudly for a regenerating process, in the sister Province, than even in Lower Canada. In fact, the salvation of these Colonies mainly depends upon the independence, liberality and vigor of the Governors—and we could wish that Sir Francis

Head had given some better pledge of his regard to the instructions of Lord Godrich to his predecessor—renewed and enforced in his own, by Lord Glenelg—"to show no preference to the Clergy of any church"—than he seems to have done, in sanctioning the assumed title of "*the Established Church*," in his answer to a late address of the Anglican Clergy. Even ambiguity of language on his part—supposing it to amount to no more—is manifestly inconsistent with the letter and spirit of his instructions—instructions which—we have no doubt, if they are faithfully adhered to, and put in practice—will effectually compose all our dissensions; but we are not unaware that fierce and formidable opposition, will be encountered in the Colony, by the Governor who shall honestly, and fearlessly set himself to this Herculean labour. See the following Note D.

NOTE D.

We were forcibly struck with the following remarks on the concatenation of the ties of affinity and consanguinity, which in concurrence with party and political interests, and prejudices, cooperate to throw up no slight barrier, in the way of any Governor of Upper Canada, whose spirit and measures shall render him obnoxious to a confederation, so extensive and so firmly compacted by such various and powerful ties.

We quote the article for the sake of the facts which it states—without adopting the sentiments, or approving of the language of the writer—who is evidently a violent opponent of Sir Francis Head.

"Jonas Jones, a native of this Province, went, as is stated to us, to the United States during the late war, and remained there till peace was proclaimed!—He is brother-in-law of Judge Sherwood—do. of the late Attorney General, now Chief Justice of Newfoundland, who is the brother of Darcy Boulton, the brother-in-law of Chief Justice Robinson, whose niece (the C. J.'s.) is married to Judge Macaulay's brother-in-law, Clark Gamble the Solicitor of the Upper Canada Bank. Judge Macaulay was brother-in-law of the present Attorney General Hagerman, whose present wife is related in the second degree of affinity to the Chief Justice Robinson—Jonas Jones was also a contemporary pupil of Dr. Strachan with Chief Justice Robinson, Judge Macaulay and Archibald Maclean, Speaker.—He is also connected by marriage, with W. B. Robinson, member for Simcoe, and P. M., and the honorable Peter Robinson, late Commissioner of Crown lands. W. B. Robinson is brother-in-law of Samuel P. Jarvis, clerk of the Crown in Chancery, deputy registrar of the Province, and director of the Bank of Upper Canada,—who is brother of W. M. Jarvis, Sheriff of the Gore District, who is nearly related by consanguinity to W. B. Jarvis, Sheriff of the Home District—who is married to the grand-daughter of the late Chief Justice Powell—whose (Powell's) son is clerk of the Legislative Council, judge of the Home District Court, official Principal of Upper Canada, and Commissioner for administering the oath of allegiance &c.—The aforesaid relative of Jonas Jones [Sheriff Jarvis of the Home District] is brother to George S. Jarvis of Cornwall, M. P. for that town, Judge of the Ottawa District Court, collector of customs for the port of Cornwall, and late half pay officer—also son of Steven Jarvis Usher of the Black Rod in the Legislative Council. Jonas Jones is likewise brother of the honorable Charles Jones member of said Council, and to Alpheus Jones Collector of the port of Prescott, and has several other relatives holding other minor offices. Mr. Jones resides at Brockville, and has been for several years past occupied in business foreign to his profession—except the discharge of the duties of a Judge of three minor courts called District Courts.

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He is also Commissioner of the St. Lawrence Canal, is a farmer, miller, and extensive land speculator, and resides about 250 miles from the seat of government. He is the only instance known to us (Judges Sherwood and Maclean excepted) of the local government travelling out of the capital to make village lawyers and land speculators judges.

Jonas Jones has still further family connexions. His niece is married to Allan N. McNab member for Wentworth, late Serjeant at Arms to the House of Assembly, who is brother to David McNab, present Serjeant at Arms, registrar of the county of Wentworth, and Justice of the Peace for the Gore District. His nephew Henry Sherwood, son of Judge Sherwood, late his clerk of Assize, Solicitor to the Farmer's Bank, brother-in-law of the Honorable John Elmsley, Executive and Legislative Councillor, President of said Bank, a large speculator in U. E. Rights, and general Justice of the Peace. Elmsley is brother-in-law to Captain Macaulay, late Surveyor General, who is brother-in-law to Mr. Executive and Legislative Councillor Allen, commissioner of the Canada Company, Justice of the Peace for every district in the Province, who is brother-in-law of John Gamble, Esq. chairman of the Quarter Sessions and Magistrate for the Home District, who is brother-in-law of Dr. Geddes in Kingston, whose daughter is married to Parson Macaulay of Hallowel, one of the newly created Rectors, who is brother to John Macaulay the present Surveyor General of U. C. and member of the Legislative Council.

It should not escape observation that John S. Cartwright, the President of the Commercial Bank at Kingston, and M. P. P. for Lennox and Addington, whose brother was lately chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Quebec, is brother-in-law to Judge Macaulay and intimately connected with Jonas Jones and the family compact—that the Sheriff of the Gore District, Mr. Jarvis is brother-in-law to Myles O'Reilly, who, it is alledged, is now Judge of the Gore District Court, and that Thomas McCormack collector of customs for the port of Niagara, agent for the Bank of Upper Canada, and Justice of the Peace for that District, is brother-in-law to Samuel P. Jarvis, one of Mr. Jones' family junto—son-in-law to the late Chief Justice Powell, and brother-in-law to Grant Powell aforesaid—also, that Executive and Legislative Councillor Allen's wife is niece to the Honorable Legislative Councillor Alexander McDonnell, Inspector of Licences and Magistrate for the Home District, one of whose sons is clerk in the Government office and another, it is said, lately appointed Sheriff of the Gore District."

NOTE E.

The following statement furnishes a pretty good specimen of the wisdom with which the Colonies are governed! The best portion of the Glebe lands, are forestalled by the Church of England, and while the question of their appropriation is "*adhuc sub judice*" she is stealthily put in actual possession, or has set apart for her use, nearly 30,000 acres, and this accompanied or followed up, with an application from the Lord Bishop of Quebec, for 235,206 acres remaining unselected. This truly is not so bad for the first slice! but this is only the first, and no doubt the smallest fraction of the Lion's share! When such is the beginning, what have we not to apprehend from the progress—from the consummation of such ambition! A few such slices more, and there will be little left as a subject of contention between the State Church and her sectarian rivals. Her sister Establishment the Kirk, will be in no danger of being corrupted by her endowments—if her portion be not in a greater ratio, she may as well retain the merit of primitive apostolic poverty—When the dominant Church is satiated with the far larger and better portion of the spoil, the pitiful residue will be handed over, to be a bone

of contention between the other claimants, and the Church will meanwhile, look on with perfect security, and smile serene "amid the war of elements."

General Statement shewing the total number of Acres set apart for the Clergy in the Province of Upper Canada, and their application, to the 23d day of November, 1836.

DISTRIBUTION OR APPLICATION.

	Provincial C'y.	No. of Acres.	Total No. of acres.
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves in the Surveyed Townships, and Blocks of Clergy Reserves, as returned by the Surveyor General's Department.....			2,197,526
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves in the Block set apart in lieu of the Clergy Reserves not appropriated in the Huron tract.			157,142
Number of acres of Reserves sold by the Agent for the sale of Clergy Reserves to the 23d Nov. 1836. The average price being 13s. 7-4 currency per acre.....		368,423	4
Amount for which sold to the above period.....	£250,655	16	11
Amount received as instalments to the above period.....	59,597	10	0
Balance appearing due on the Sales to the above period.....	161,058	6	11
Amount of principal paid into the Military chest by the Hon. Peter Robinson, on account of Clergy Reserves.			
Amount of Interest paid to the Receiver General by the Hon. Peter Robinson, on account of Clergy Reserves.			
Amount of disbursements paid by the Hon. Peter Robinson, on account of Clergy Reserves, from 1828 to 1835.			
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves leased.....		361,000	
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves granted as endowments to the Church of England—Clergy patents for which are completed.....		22,951	
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves granted as endowments to the Church of England—Clergy patents for which are not completed.....		4,118	
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves set apart as Glebes.....	21,057		
Of these are included, in the return of Endowments.....	8,832		
Difference carried out.....		12,725	
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves recommended as Glebes.....		85,000	
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves applied for as Glebes, by order of the Lord Bishop of Quebec, remaining unsettled....		235,200	
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves granted to the Clergy of other Denominations, than the Church of England, under the authority of orders in Council.....		2,095	
Number of acres of Clergy Reserves remaining disposable at probable value of 10s. per acre, would amount to.....	631,125	1,262,250	
		2,354,668	2,354,668
Interest received on Instalments to the 23d of November, 1836.....	6,946	14	9

(Signed)

Commissioner Crown Lands Office,
Toronto, Dec. 1, 1836.

R. B. SULLIVAN.

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NOTE F.

We have no hesitation to aver, that of all grievances, abuses, usurpations, spoliations, the most enormous and intolerable is that with which the advocates of a dominant church are threatening the Colony—nay, not merely threatening—but rather having already, in effect, carried their goodly work to no inconsiderable extent—What a bagatelle in comparison with this monstrous monopoly of property, power and influence, are all other dilapidations and abuses? The Reserved Lands are held in trust by the Parent Government, for the interest of the Colony, and it will be nothing less than robbery or spoliation, if they are permitted to become the prey of a Faction. It will lay the foundation of universal discontent, of infinite corruption and mischief, of irretrievable disorder and confusion. These Colonies are precisely in the situation of the Parent Country, when the Legislature, at the period of the Reformation, adopted that Ecclesiastical order, which was found suitable to the spirit of the age. This is the unquestionable right of the people of Canada at the present juncture—the parent government have distinctly acknowledged it, (see Lord Glenelg's despatch, Note A) the framers of the Constitutional Act, have anticipated, and made provision in the body of the act, for securing this all important right of the Colonial Legislature.—The endowment of the Rectories is a gross violation of this right—and a cruel grievance inflicted upon the people—and deeply will they rue their apathy and blindness, if they suffer themselves and their posterity to be brought into bondage to a dominant Church. Future generations will rise up—but not to bless us—should we bequeath to them so fatal an inheritance!

NOTE G.

Never will these Colonies enjoy the blessings of tranquillity and repose until the Executive and Legislative Councils, in both Provinces, are constituted of new and better elements. The salvation of the Colonies depends upon the thorough purgation of the vicious elements which have hitherto corrupted the administration. And this consummation so devoutly to be wished, must come from the Governor, who would require for such a task, no ordinary measure of wisdom, energy, virtue; and we might add—with strict truth—genius and magnanimity. We are inclined to believe that much of the *mal odeur* in which the Royal Commissioners in Lower Canada have been held, is to be ascribed to the fact of their uncompromising hostility to all the Cabals and Juntos—and their inflexible determination to recommend the introduction of a system of government—most perfectly impartial—at an equal distance from the two extreme parties! The abuse with which they have been loaded, as unmeasured as it has been unmerited, begins to recoil—their Report has not in any respect fulfilled the charitable auguries of their maligners—and it is no slight pledge of their honesty and wisdom, that they are as cordially abominated by the ultra partisans in Upper, as in Lower Canada! Praise and censure change their nature, with the spirit and character of their authors and dispensers!

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NOTE H.

The Orange party of Ireland are made up of the same elements, and animated by the same spirit and principles, which have been very unequivocally manifested by the High Church party in the Canadas. How could it be otherwise. The same end is embraced by each—as the darling object of their policy. The parties in each country form a small minority—invested with ascendant power and influence—their circumstances are very similar—the elements with which they are brought into conflict, are in a manner identical. What criterion applicable to the one, does not equally suit the other? Are the abettors of our Protestant Episcopal ascendancy in Canada, men more wise, moderate, humble, or are their pretensions urged with a milder spirit—restrained within bounds less disproportionate to their number and importance in the Colony? If you turn to the Canadian Press, what damning proofs of Orangeism meet your eye—sufficient to match the most extravagant and unblushing Toryism of Ireland—nay, positively outheroing Herod! and this too, not in a few Journals—but in the great majority? What then? you will say the bulk of the Canadian population are Orangemen! no—the vast majority of them are Roman Catholics, and of the remainder, nine tenths are at a great remove, indeed, from Tory principles—and rather in the process of receding from—than approximating them. How then do you account for the strange discrepancy between the spirit of the people and the spirit of the press? Nothing easier. The people leave public affairs to the official men—and are too busy in the forests, to have leisure or inclination to mind politics, until some pinching grievance enforces their attention to them. In the infant stage of any Colony, the people are supine and indifferent, and abuses have grown to a head, before they are roused to any lively interest. We perceive that O'Connell has denounced in very strong terms, the Irish Catholics in British America, who have identified themselves with the Constitutionalists, whom he brands as Tories and Orangemen. How wise was the counsel of those who urged upon the Constitutional party, the extreme importance of adopting such a decided course upon the Church question, as would have rendered it impossible to impute such principles to them. There are symptoms at this moment, of approaching changes in the state of parties, which we fear will afford additional evidence of the wisdom of this neglected counsel, and will convince the Constitutional Association, how necessary it was, for the purpose of giving unity and stability to their body, to have planted their banner—to which men of all races and sects were summoned—upon the common ground of equal rights, to be—in the very first instance—asserted and vindicated in behalf of all.

NOTE I.

We do not know a greater service, which in the present crisis, could be rendered to Canada, or to Britain, than a manly, faithful, unflinchingly honest history, of the origin and progress of the difficulties and embarrassments, which have become so formidable of late in both Provinces—giving an impartial view of the character and state of parties, tracing to their authors and sources the various political excitements and commotions, which have agitated the Colony, or influenced the Government; with a review of the various measures of the successive administrations,

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and shewing how far they have been productive of good or evil. We cannot help thinking that such a history, written in a lively and popular style, would prove highly serviceable in communicating to the Colonists, more just, consistent and satisfactory views of what constitutes a sound and enlightened policy, and in qualifying them for the better discernment of their real interests, and a better appreciation of the merits or demerits of public and influential men.

NOTE K.

We look with extreme distrust upon the party who now surround Sir Francis Head, and we are persuaded that unless they have really changed their nature, which is only not impossible, or unless Sir Francis possesses the very highest measure of wisdom, energy, and self decision, they will prove an *ignus fatuus* to his administration. Certain popular measures of the last session—with the flattering prospect of prosperity and improvement, which the liberal appropriations of the Legislature have opened to the country, may maintain a temporary calm, which may induce a too secure confidence of the permanent popularity of his government. If our apprehensions are well founded of the ascendancy of the *old regime*, we are confident that new and greater embarrassments are preparing, which it will be impossible for Sir Francis to overcome, and which will entail upon his successors, a task more arduous than that upon which he himself entered. It is credulous weakness to believe that the radical or democratical party have ceased to be formidable; certain and fatal will be the disappointment that awaits the governors, who, trusting to this hope, shall follow the counsels of Strachan and Hagerman. Now is the precious moment to extirpate every root of discontent—and upon the basis of an equal, impartial regard for the rights, civil and religious, of all parties and denominations, to erect a popular government, and to inspire all the Colonists, with one feeling of equal confidence and attachment. Great and truly enviable will be the glory of Sir Francis, should he accomplish this happy consummation!"

NOTE L.

We observe that attempts have been lately made, to vindicate Mr. Hagerman, and to represent his language in regard to the Scottish Church and Clergy, as inoffensive. He has published a *letter apologetic*. This is quite in keeping with the character of the man—to add *meanness to insolence*. We have seen Messrs. Cameron & McKay who declare that his speech, as published in McKenzie's paper, was to the best of their remembrance, substantially correct, exhibiting a faithful representation of the spirit, sentiments, and diction of the speaker. Were we to believe, that there was no insult intended, by the term "contemptible" which he applied to the court of Quarter Sessions—that it was adopted as he alleges from one of the petitions before the house, what will this avail to redeem his Majesty's Solicitor from the charge of indiscretion, insolence and vindictive feeling, in the wanton threat "that were he attorney general, he would prosecute unrelentingly, any minister of the Kirk, who should dare to marry, or exercise the functions of an ordained

pastor in the Province—without obtaining a licence from this court.—This we have no doubt, is a fair average specimen of the character and tendency of *that pure zeal* which his Majesty may look for in such servants. It is the malice and the bitterness of a factious selfishness, of sectarian bigotry—not the fidelity of an upright, honorable and patriotic spirit! God help his Majesty, and the Colony, if this is the kind of zeal with which they are to be served! There has been a little too much of it in time past. The cup is nearly full. A little more will make it to overflow.

It would be easy, were it worth while to stoop to such a quarry, to inflict an exemplary chastisement upon this hireling eulogist of the Church of England, this Bombastes Furioso rhetorist, who praises without measure, because he praises without principle, feeling or judgment—The people and the Church of Scotland, may congratulate themselves, that they have not been bedaubed with his venal and fulsome adulation.

In adverting to the language and sentiments of a man, thus prostituted, soul and body, to the servility of faction, we do so—not for any importance that we attach to his character or opinion, but in the sad and mortifying conviction, that such is a faithful reflexion of the spirit and principles and aims of his party—now we fear in the ascendant, in the sister Province—We cannot but feel misgivings in respect to the government which, even for a day, lends its confidence, its countenance to such men. We would conjure those Scotsmen who have any respect for themselves, any reverence for their country or their Church, any sympathy with the rights and interests of their much neglected and much wronged countrymen, in British North America, or a manly and enlightened regard to the prosperity of the Colony, to open their eyes—which have been too long closed—to all the demonstrations of hostility to them and to their rights, civil and religious manifested *by the very party* whom they have been foremost to support. They have been in close league with their most determined and inexorable foemen. They have been upholding and strengthening a power, which will not make the smallest concession in their favor, which will in return for all their services, add insult to ingratitude, and iniquity. To realize the truth of this statement, they have only to keep their eyes open, their senses awake!

NOTE. M.

The contemptuous tone, in which the learned Solicitor has presumed to speak of the Scottish Church and Clergy, will no doubt recall to the recollection of many, the impious extravagance of his language, in his speech in support of the exclusive pretensions of the Church of England, in the session of 1835. It affords an illustration of the common adage, that "extremes meet." Mr. Hagarman betrays not more in his affected disparagement of the one, than in his hollow, heartless, panegyric of the other, his utter incapacity, both moral and intellectual, to appreciate the real excellence, of either of these venerable and distinguished Establishments. It is amusing, and in fact, ridiculous, to hear the strain of adulation with which men like Hagarman, compliment the Church of England, *for all that she is not*—and to her intelligent and judicious friends, such ignorant and bungling eulogists, must needs appear as the most severe of all satirists. They will perversely contend, in defiance not only of the history of the past, but of the experience of the present, that our liberty, our constitution, all that forms the political, intellectual, and moral superiority of Britain, is the fruit of the happy union of Church and

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State, and you would believe, if you could only take the word of *such Sir Oracles*, that the Protestant Episcopal Church, had been the mother, the nurse, and the guardian of our Constitutional Liberties, and that education and popular instruction, had been the peculiar, and supreme object of her maternal care, from the beginning unto this day. Now we would just whisper a little friendly counsel in the ear of such bepraisers, that the less they boast of the services rendered to the cause of liberty and education, by the State Church—the more credit will they deserve, for consulting her real interest and honor. And we hesitate not to tell them, that in this respect, she will not bear for a moment, to be compared with her humbler, (not less meritorious) sister, the Church of Scotland, and we would warn such indiscreet eulogists, that if they provoke the further discussion of this question, which we have no desire to stir, we pledge ourselves to demonstrate, in the history, both of the past and of the present times, that, for whatever liberty Britain enjoys in our day, she is exclusively indebted to the Puritans and the Presbyterians—that education and liberty, have small thanks to render to the Protestant Episcopal Church, for her patronage. We are tendering very sound and wholesome counsel to such *Philippizing Oracles* as Solicitor Hagerman, when we recommend a prudent silence on these points, and caution him not to imitate the "dutiful Ham, in pointing the eye to the nakedness of a Parent, but rather like his brethren, to throw the veil of "expressive silence" over it, and seek for the sympathy of the wise, and well informed, by confining himself, in his panegyric hereafter, to what constitutes the real and sterling merits of the Anglican Church—the learning, the liberality, the eloquence, originality and power of her great divines, and the real services which she has rendered to her country, and mankind—in the general defence of christianity and of Protestantism—in the propagation of divine truth, at home and abroad. Willing to pay most cordially the fullest tribute, to the Church of England, on the score of her real merits, which, soberly speaking, are abundantly sufficient to secure her a high and lasting reputation in the christian world—we do think that she suffers much more than she gains, from *this* overstrained tone—and very frequently—most injudicious selection of the grounds—and topics—of panegyric. We shall content ourselves at present, with simply hinting to these officious and indiscreet admirers of what they seem so little to understand, that they would do well to sober down the feverish pulse of their admiration or vanity by keeping sight—when they happen to fall into this laudatory mood—of the incidental and not altogether trifling inconveniences, which have been found inseparable from the practical working of the ecclesiastical system—so marvellously perfect in their eyes. We would impress upon their wisdom, a prudent temperance in extolling the merits of an establishment, which has embroiled and embarrassed the government successively, and not slightly, in England, Scotland, Ireland—and even in the Colonies, has engendered already some heats—and presents not one of the least formidable obstructions to the establishment of internal concord, and to the security of our connection with the mother country. Without being prepared to contend for an immediate or violent separation of Church and State, we are equally far from considering it as a demonstrated truth, that there is any advantage to either Church or State, in the Parent country—(still less in the Colonies)—from admitting ecclesiastics to have seats in the legislature or in the executive. We perfectly concur with Lord Godrich, (see Note A) that *they* would best consult the spiritual interests of the Church, and the good of the state—by an exclusive devotion to their clerical functions. In fine, we see nothing to alarm us for the safety of the constitution, or of the empire, should all *the lights—of mitered and aproned wisdom—of Right Reverends and Venerables—be withdrawn from civil and secular, to be purely concentrated in spiritual things.*

NOTE N.

It is unfortunate for the best interests of Canada, that there is such a general apathy, and consequently want of information, in regard to the conduct of the government, and the character of parties, among the great mass of our population. We have enough, God knows, of party spirit—enough of heat, intemperance, animosity—but where shall we find clear, consistent, enlightened or disinterested views—and how rarely do we meet, in a community far from being unintelligent, *with even individuals*, who have taken any pains to form wise, sober, and impartial judgments, with respect to the great questions in which we are all so deeply interested? The whole fortunes of the country, have been hitherto consigned to the care and keeping of a few official men—composing at once, the Legislative and Executive Councils, or bearing chief sway in them—while the public attention and interest, have only been called forth on rare occasions—when some present interest or prejudice happened to be touched. It is easy to understand, in this state of the public mind, how little sensation may be produced by measures of government, which deeply involve the most vital interests of the Colony, where they do not immediately touch the grosser and more palpable interests of the mass. The disposal of such an immense property as that of the Reserved Lands, is a question of vital interest, and fraught with more important consequences than most of those which are now most keenly agitated amongst us. (See Note E) What trifles do all our temporary expenditures and appropriations appear, when we compare them with the permanent disposal of such a vast property—vesting an equally vast power and influence, for good or for evil, in those who shall be endowed therewith? And yet, were it not for the selfish interests immediately involved in the settlement of this great question, we believe that it would scarcely excite any general sensation! Did the Laity of Canada see, or feel, as they ought, the effects which this appropriation will have upon the administration of the government, the independent power which it will vest in the Clergy, its tendency to create jealousies and divisions among the different sects, and to injure the interests of *Learning and Education*, by giving an undue preponderance to one or a few sects, in the patronage and administration of *their* institutions—they would not look with such tameness, as they have done, on past or present proceedings, affecting such mighty and essential interests. We tell the Agricultural and Mercantile bodies, that their most precious interests, are in direct opposition to every exclusive, and illiberal measure, to all partial and factious legislation. This question touches the very spring and fountain of our prosperity—and if it is mismanaged, it will paralyze our vital powers—and wither or enslave the whole social and political frame. It will never be well with these Colonies—there will be no vigorous action of government—until the people shall awake from their lethargy, and exercise a just controul over the rulers, *by the influence of a free, manly, enlightened public opinion.*

FINIS.

 129
 21/29